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THE POPES

AND

THE JESUITS

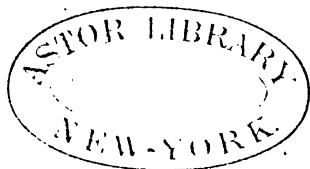
OF THE

PRESENT CENTURY.

BY

DR. EDW. H. MICHELSEN,

AUTHOR OF THE "OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS RESOURCES;" "LIFE OF NICHOLAS I.;"
AND "ENGLAND SINCE THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA," ETC.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE *Jesuits*, or *Society of Jesus*, is the name of an order which, without church functions and prelatures, quickly acquired a prominent position in history by its ambitious views and aspirations, to which there is no parallel in ecclesiastical history. The least part of that notorious eminence is due to the founder of the society, Ignatius Loyola, who owes his reputation more to the worldly wisdom and power of his successors than to his own. When still a student at Paris, he joined (16th August, 1534) Pierre Lefèvre of Savoy, Francis Xaver of Navarre, Laynez and Bobadilla, two high-spirited Spaniards, and Rodriguez, a Portuguese nobleman, in the resolution to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the purpose of convert-

ing the infidels in that part of the eastern world. But as the war with the Turks prevented at that time the accomplishment of the project—the journey to Jerusalem—they dispersed themselves to the various universities of upper Italy, to enlist new members for their religious scheme. Loyola repaired, in company with Lefèvre and Laynez, to Rome, where he carried into execution (1539) his plan for the establishment of an order of a peculiar character and bearing. In consequence of a vision in a dream, he called it the “Society of Jesus,” the members of which he bound, besides the usual monastic vows of poverty, chastity, blind and implicit obedience to their superiors, also to a fourth duty, to repair gratuitously as missionaries to any land or part of the world whither the pope may choose to send them, and to execute their mission with all the zeal and by any means in their power. The novices were to undergo besides many other spiritual exercises, also the lowest drudgeries and the most disgusting services in the hospitals, after the example of Xaver, who instituted such low ser-

vices as the most honourable task of the chivalrous order. A special bull of Pope Paul III. (27th Sept., 1540) confirmed the order in due form, and at the meeting of the members in the following year at Rome, the founder was nominated the first *general* of the society, though he was but little qualified to be the head of a comprehensive administration, his rough plans having generally been properly developed and carried into practical force by Laynez, and some others of his learned friends. Julius III., like Paul III., granted to the order prerogatives which no corporation, spiritual or temporal, ever was in possession of. Not only were they to enjoy all the privileges of the mendicant friars and lay clergy—they were not only free of the jurisdiction of any episcopal or secular authority, save that of the pope and their own superiors, but they were also to be allowed to perform all clerical duties anywhere and anyhow, even during the time of an interdiction. They were, moreover, empowered to grant absolution of sins and church penalties, to change the special vows of laymen into other good works,

to build churches, acquire estates and property, to dispense, according to circumstances, with the usual regulations of the church, and even to act against the canonical laws without first consulting the will and opinion of even the pope himself. To the *pater-general* was given unlimited authority over all the members; he could send them with missions anywhere he chose; he had the power to appoint them everywhere as professors of theology or divinity, and invest them with academical titles equal to those given by the faculties of the secular universities.

The fundamental principle of the constitution of the society, is the universal spread of the order, and the most consolidated internal union and connection of the members throughout the world. The society is accordingly divided into several classes or ranks. To the first and lowest class belong the novices; they are taken from all classes of society without regard to birth and station, and their only and absolute recommendation is *talent and education*. Their probation lasts for two years, during which time

they are exercised into blind obedience and self-denial. These novices are not yet ranked among the real members, the lowest of whom consist of secular co-labourers or coadjutors, who, having made no monastic vow, can be dismissed or released at any time. They act partly as subordinates and partly as allies to the members of the higher ranks. Many high statesmen, functionaries, and other influential personages (as Louis XIV. was in his old age), had sometimes the honour of being received into that class. Higher in rank stand the scholars and spiritual coadjutors, men of knowledge and erudition, monks who have made solemn monastic vows, and who entirely devote themselves to the education of youth. They are employed as professors, preachers, rectors, and tutors in families, and as missionary assistants. The highest rank occupy the professed monks, who have distinguished themselves by worldly wisdom, energy, and loyalty to the order. In addition to their monastic vows, they are employed in all sorts of missions, and serve as missionaries amongst the heathens and infidels, as regents

in distant colonies, as confessors of princes and monarchs, and as representatives of the order in places where no colleges are as yet founded, though they themselves are exempt from the duty of instructing the youth.

It is only these professed monks alone, who have the right to vote in the election of a pater-general. The latter is not eligible to the post without having previously served himself in the above capacity of a professed monk. He appoints from the midst of that voting congregation his assistants, provincials, superiors, and directors. The general is elected for life, resides at Rome, and has a council of his own, consisting of one admonitor and five assistants, who are supposed to represent the five principal nations: the Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, French, and Germans. He receives reports from the provincials once every month, and from the superiors of the cloisters and rectors of the colleges once every three months, on all matters connected with religion and politics, as also on the character, con-

duet, merits, and capacities of the individual members. Being in possession of these reports, he gives his instructions accordingly, and acts upon the whole as the supreme head of the order, the members of which, from high to low, are obliged to obey implicitly his commands without asking questions, or questioning the expediency of any of the measures he may think proper to adopt. He is even above the laws and statutes of the order ; he can alter them whenever he thinks it advisable to do so ; he can punish, exile, or promote any member of the society by a single stroke of the pen, or even a mere instruction by mouth.

Already, at the death of the founder (1556), the society numbered about 1000 members in twelve states. The first was Portugal, where Xaver and Rodriguez (1540) had established colleges at the invitation of the king. The order met also with the same rapid success in the Italian states and Spain, where the example of one of the most powerful grandees, Francis Borgia, Duke of Granada, was followed by a great number of individuals of more

or less eminence. Also in Catholic Germany, and more especially in Austria and Bavaria, the order rapidly spread, particularly amongst the students at the universities of Vienna, Prague, and Ingolstadt, where it maintained an influential dominion for more than two hundred years.

By its strictly hierarchical principles, its indefatigable activity and successful operations in proselytism, the Catholic princes and monarchs, as also the popes themselves, had recognized in the order the most efficacious antidote against the fast growing Protestant religion at that period. Also to the masses generally, the Jesuits had soon recommended themselves as the offspring of the new spirit of the age—an appellation that suited even the views of anti-monastic individuals. To those to whom the Franciscan monks had appeared too clumsy and vulgar, the Dominicans too rigorous and gloomy, the finely-formed, cheerful, and social Jesuits were just the monks calculated to please the eye and the heart in a far higher degree. No one could re-

proach them with idling away their time in solitary prayers or chanting of hymns. Their devotional hours were few and short, their conduct meek and civil, and their apparel the same as that of the lay-clergy, or even of common civilians. They were, moreover, instructed to proceed very gently in their active spheres of religious and political conversion, to win people by yielding to their peculiar tastes and views, and generally not to manifest any passion or zealous excitement, but to keep their own views and measures secret and concealed, in order to carry out the better, by an external show of *sang froid* and seeming carelessness of manner, plans which might otherwise meet with public opposition. The spirit of this sort of worldly wisdom, or rather cunning, to be adopted in the affairs of social, religious, and political transactions, chiefly emanated from the second general of the order, Laynez, who so modified the sombre and over-rigorous rules of the first founder as better to fit the members for social intercourse in the management of affairs so closely connected with the sole object in view—the universal sovereignty of

the holy chair against the attacks of Protestantism, princes, and national bishops. This was the task allotted to the Jesuits, who tried to accomplish the object in view under the pretext of promoting throughout the world true religion or the honour of God (*in majorem Dei gloriam*, as is manifest from the inscription of their escutcheon), by acting upon the minds of the youth, in the establishment of schools, and of the adults, by means of social intercourse, the confessional, and the pulpit. At the death of Laynez (1565), that spirit had already penetrated so deeply into the internal life of the order, that neither the example of monastic piety practised by his successor, Francis Borgia, nor the suggestion of the popes, Paul IV. and V., to assimilate the pious devotions of the order to those of the other monastic orders, produced the least effect upon the members.

Their missions out of Europe had been crowned with almost incredible success. Francis Xavier and his assistants have converted to Christianity within

ten years, from 1541 to 1551, hundreds of thousands of heathens, in Goa, Travancur, Cochin China, Malacca, Ceylon, and even Japan, Brazil, and Paraguay, where subsequently the Jesuit missionaries brought about the subjection of the aborigines, amongst whom they had previously introduced the light of civilization and education. Africa alone seemed deaf to the teachings of the Jesuits; the natives of the western coast would not suffer the missionaries to approach their territory; the Copts in the east literally drove them away; while the Abyssinians treated them even as spies and traitors. On the other hand, their influence in Europe had increased so rapidly that all traces of the effects of the Reformation were soon lost and annihilated in the Catholic states of this part of the world.

Claudius Aquaviva, a descendant of the ducal race of Atri, the fourth general of the Jesuits (1581—1615), became the creator of their famous school system, and the plan of education as adopted in all the Jesuit colleges. Their teachers were distin-

guished for erudition, the arts, and the sciences, and no wonder that the order soon inspired the learned world with deep respect for their establishments. But the Jesuits also knew how to profit from their position, capacities, and fame. Their establishments and estates increased from day to day, their churches and confessionals were never empty, while legacies and donations flowed in abundantly on all sides. The particulars of their internal constitution they wished to be neither known nor imitated. Consequently, when a number of females in Italy and the lower Rhenish provinces had formed a notion (1623) to establish an order of female Jesuits, similar in constitution, functions, and classes to that of the male Jesuits, the latter induced the pope (1631) to interdict the formation of such an order.

Notwithstanding the high favour in which the Jesuits stood with the princes and the people in the different states of Europe, the non-jesuitical clergy and the university professors soon discovered the

mischief which had been worked by them. They became odious to the bishops, curates, and universities by their prominent privileges, to the old monastic orders by their encroachments upon their rights and clerical duties, and finally to the governments and judicial authorities by their meddling with politics and state transactions, the evil effects of which were seen in Portugal under the reigns of John III. and Sebastian (their pupil), when, after the death of the latter, Portugal had been transferred by their intrigues to the Spanish crown. For twenty years the parliament and the high clergy of France, therefore, stoutly opposed the attempt of the Jesuits to settle in the kingdom. The university at Paris declared the order useless, and incompatible with the rights of the Gallican Church, and it was only owing to the favour of the court that they were allowed (1562) to settle in France under the name of "fathers of the college of Clermont," and by foregoing all their most important privileges. Gradually, however, they recovered their rights and privileges, and more especially during the civil war,

under the protection of the *Guises*, though they had been suspected of participation in the murder of Henry III. In 1594, it is true, they were banished from France, on account of the murderous attempt of their pupil, *Chatel*, upon the life of Henry IV.; but in 1603 they had not only returned to France, but were even playing their former part of confessors at the French court.

At still greater eminence had they arrived in Germany under the Ferdinands II. and III., while in the thirty years' war they displayed political talents of an extraordinary character; they were in fact the soul of the *Ligue*, which did hardly anything of importance without their advice and consent. By means of the Jesuit pater Lamormain, confessor of the emperor, Wallenstein fell, and Bavaria was saved for Austria.

In France, however, a new storm broke over their head, through *Pascal's* "*Lettres Provinciales*" (1666), in which they were charged with loose

morals, selfish motives, unfair means, mental reservation, &c. ; while, in some towns of Italy, many of the members had been guilty even of seduction and violation—odious acts which brought the order into general disrepute throughout Europe, and compelled them to fly in order to escape the popular rage, or Lynch-law of the present day. But what particularly offended the middle classes against the Jesuits was their mercantile traffics with the raw productions of the trans-Atlantic countries where their missionaries had settled. Also in France, the mercantile speculations which they carried on, despite all papal orders to the contrary, were the chief cause of their fall and ruin. Ever since 1743, they had established, through their missionary, Pater Lavalette, a regular house of business at Martinique, which bought up all the raw productions of that and the neighbouring West India islands, and shipped them to France. Two vessels, laden with a large cargo of these productions, valued at two millions of francs, had, however, been captured by the English. They had been

consigned by Lavalette as a remittance in payment to the house Lioncy, at Marseilles, and as the Jesuits would not bear the loss of the cargo, or reimburse the amount, an action was brought against them, when they were condemned to the full payment of the debt and costs. That lawsuit was also the means of bringing to light many other abuses and frauds in their transactions and mercantile dealings. Laurence Ricci, their general, having refused to modify in the least the constitution of the order, by his declaration—“*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*,” (It must remain as it is, or cease altogether,) a royal decree (1764) abolished the order as a political society, despite the protestations of Pope Clement XIII.

They were also expelled from Spain in 1767, and soon afterwards likewise from Naples, Parma, and Malta, which at last induced Pope Clement XIV. entirely to dissolve the order in due form (21st July, 1773) by his bull—“*Dominus ac redemptor noster*.”

MODERN JESUITISM.

THE JESUITS,

*Since the Dissolution of their Order by Pope
Clemens XIV. in 1773.*

THE fable of the Hydra in the ancient mythology has become re-cast into an historical fact in modern times under a different name, the "Order of Jesus." This many-headed monster of papal usurpation had in process of time become so intergrown with the spirit of ultramontane Catholicism, that neither the hatred of the Cabinets, nor even the bull issued by Pope Clemens XIV., by which the order was solemnly and formally dissolved, had the effect of annihilating its existence in the true sense of the term. After the promulgation of that bull, the Jesuits were certainly so far obedient to the papal injunction as to discontinue living congregated under one roof, or to appear in public in the costume of their order; but beyond these outward compliances they consi-

check their baneful operations. At the university of Ingolstadt (Bavaria) most of the professors were ex-Jesuits in disguise. In Austria, under Leopold II. and Francis II., they were the soul of the reaction then stirring against the reforms of Joseph II., while in Belgium they were even among the ringleaders of the insurrection which had broken out in consequence of those reforms. So great indeed was their power in Belgium, that they set their face for a long time against the Abolition-act of Clemens, and not less against the Government who had ordered the enforcement of its provisions. They even appeared in public in the costume of their order, and enrolled new members as in the previous periods.* At their college at Liege, depravity and debauchery had placed (1779) a great number of the students under medical treatment for secret diseases. It was also in Belgium whence the proposition emanated (1790) for the restoration of the order ; and the example was imitated in 1793 by the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, where the proposal was supported by eleven bishops at Rome and most of the Catholic bishops in Hungary. The outbreak of the first French

* *Vide* Sequel.

revolution, the ex-Jesuits ascribed, in pamphlets and from the pulpit, as a just retribution of Heaven for the sin committed against their order. With the dissolution of the order, they said, the bulwark of both the throne and the altar has been demolished; and the consequence was, anarchy and infidelity, evils that can be remedied only by the restoration of the order, which commands implicit obedience to God and to the rulers by his right. Neither would they have failed to accomplish their object in those stormy times, if the triumph of the French arms had been less signal. Exasperated in the extreme against France and her innovations, they kindled the civil war in the Vendée, which, as it assumed the character of a war of religion, was also attended by all the horrors that usually characterise such a war. The emblem of the *heart of Christ*, which served as a sign of recognition among the secret disciples of Loyola, had been found to exist at that time also among the rustic royalists of Western France, and *Charette*, one of the chiefs of the Vendée insurrection, had that very emblem even embroidered on the collar of his coat, though he was far from being an orthodox enthusiast.

PACCANARI AND THE "FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF FAITH."

THE French revolution, while it prevented on the one hand the formal re-establishment of the order, stimulated on the other hand its regeneration, though under a different name. The general sympathy which was aroused at the European courts in favour of the ex-Jesuits, by the efforts of the French emigrants abroad, was suddenly brought into action by the appearance of Nicolo Paccanari, an adventurer and native of Tyrol. From a tailor (at Trient) he became a papal soldier, and after the outbreak of the French revolution he thought he could contrive to restore the Jesuit order. For that purpose he repaired to Vienna, where he ingratiated himself with the bigoted Archduchess Maria Anna, and persuaded her to spend her private property in the endowment of an institution under the title "Fathers of Faith." Pius VI. confirmed (1792) the new society for fear of meeting, as was

plainly hinted to him by Paccanari, with a similar end as did his predecessor, who it was rumoured had died of poison. Pius even allowed the members of the new society to wear the costume of the Jesuits with some trifling addition, and took them under his special protection, while the Austrian Duchess went in her zeal so far as even to establish various colonies of the "*fathers*" beyond Austria, and more especially at Venice, whence they soon spread all over Italy, France, Holland, and England.

Like many other refugees, the ex-Jesuits too, had found an hospitable asylum on Britannia's shores, where Thomas Weld (father of Cardinal Weld) farmed out to them a magnificent mansion (Stonyhurst), with considerable lands attached to it, near Blackburn in Lancashire, for a mere nominal rent, while in his Will he bequeathed the whole property to them unconditionally. The pious fathers, as may be imagined, converted the mansion into a college, after the model of the Jesuit institutions abroad, and they found so much support and encouragement from the rich Catholic inhabitants in England that they were soon enabled to build a second establishment or college, Kensington House,

nearly opposite the palace of that name. Stonyhurst became afterwards the nursery and mother of all other similar establishments in England, while the existence of Kensington House was but of short duration. The latter had been frequented mostly by the sons of the French emigrants of rank, and was conducted by the Abbé Broglie, son of the Marshal of that name. The members, from national pride, refused for a long time to acknowledge as their superior a Mr. Stone, the rector of Stonyhurst and PROVINCIAL of the "fathers of faith" in Great Britain, who in return refused them the loan of money to defray the expenses of their establishment, which in consequence fell into decay, bankruptcy, and final dissolution.

It was in France, however, where the "fathers of faith" (*alias* Jesuits) had made the greatest progress. Every castle of the expatriated nobility served them as a loophole, whence they carried on their operations all over the country, until they found warm friends and supporters in the influential Cardinal Fesch and the Abbé Emery, superior of St. Sulpice. At the intercession of the former, Napoleon granted (1800) the fathers, in violation of the law of 1792, the free settlement at Lyons, whence they successfully endea-

voured to spread throughout the country, under the various names of "fathers of faith," Paccanarites, and "*adorers of Jesus*." At Amiens, Belley, and various other places of France, they established schools, which were soon numerous attended by nearly all classes of society. But when, encouraged by success, they attempted at proselytism even among the medical, polytechnic, and law students at Paris, Napoleon thought it advisable to abolish (1804) all their institutions, and order the members to return to their respective homes, and live there in the character of lay-clergy. The imperial order was however but imperfectly obeyed; the favour and protection of Fesch and his sister, the mother of Napoleon, enabled them to continue uninterruptedly, though secretly, their active intrigues, even in the French metropolis itself. Nay, they even contrived to re-establish there their institution, though Napoleon himself would never give his consent to it, despite the low profane flatteries which they bestowed on him.* In revenge,

* In one of the catechisms composed by them at that period, it is said—"To honour and serve the Emperor is to honour and serve God himself; that those who fail in their duty towards our Emperor render themselves worthy of eternal damnation."—*Montglavre and Chalas*, p. 388.

the "fathers" managed in 1809 to establish in Italy a widely-ramified society under the name of the "Theocratico-anti-Napoleon Union," which, when discovered in 1810, was found to number so many men of high rank and distinction, that Napoleon thought proper to restrict his punishment to only thirty of the ringleaders. About the same time Paccanari himself met with a sad end. This man, a mixture of greatness and meanness, of boldness and temerity, who, himself one of the most uneducated of his class, had declared that the only means of salvation for the present generation is to be sought in reducing the human race to the ignorance of the barbarous ages—this Paccanari, we say, had persuaded the Archduchess Maria Anna, who resided at that time at Rome, to found also there a female society under the name "MOTHERS OF FAITH," and to entrust him with the entire management of the institution. The Inquisition, however, soon suspected that Paccanari, who had in the eyes of his votaries already advanced to the rank of a saint, had some other rather sensual motives for frequenting the female institution besides that of praying with the pious sisters. An investigation took place (1804), when he was found guilty

and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from which he was however delivered by the entrance of the French into Rome. New misdemeanors, however, brought him again into prison, from which he made his escape, to terminate his life, as it appears, in a more fatal way. His body was found in the Tiber pierced by daggers. His influence had however been on the wane in Italy long before that catastrophe, owing less to his own adventures and intrigues than to the tyranny with which he treated his subordinates in the discharge of their duties. Many of his adherents had abandoned him long before his death, and repaired to their brethren in France, England, or Russia, in which latter country the Jesuits had lived for a century in undisturbed peace and quiet.

THE JESUITS IN RUSSIA,

*After the Dissolution of the Order ; their formal
Restoration in that Empire in 1801.*

It was a phenomenon not less strange than remarkable, that the collective members of the Jesuit order should, after their banishment from their homes, the Catholic countries, not only find an asylum, but even be allowed to establish themselves formally and to carry on their previous movements in countries such as England, Holland, and Prussia, where they had always been considered as the bitterest enemies of the throne and the church. Still more surprising is the tenderness with which the disciples of Loyola were treated in Russia in the days of their adversity. Neither would it be reasonable to ascribe their success in Russia to feelings of generosity and sympathy entertained by the empress Catherine for the persecuted monks, and more especially when we consider that their treacherous behaviour to that empire during the previous centuries had induced Peter the Great (1719) to banish them for ever from his

dominions. The real motive of this favourable treatment must be sought in the political position of Russia at that period. Shortly before the dissolution of the order by Clemens XIV., the division of Poland had taken place (1772), when, in the share obtained by Catherine II. for Russia, was included also the province *White Russia*, where the Loyolites possessed several colleges and owned more than 10,000 serfs, and where their influence upon the ignorant and brutish population was without parallel. The Empress saw at once the great advantages to be gained in the new province, by making active allies of the religious body, and by becoming herself the protector or patron of the order. She might moreover also have been actuated to the step, by a desire to show to the world how little authority the pope possessed in her Catholic dominions, that, notwithstanding his bull for the dissolution of the order, she was resolved to keep the latter intact in Russian Poland; and secondly, perhaps, to be saved the expenses of providing national instruction for the Catholic youth in the newly acquired province, a consideration which also induced Frederick the Great to tolerate the order (though under a different name) in Silesia, after their

banishment from the Catholic countries. If these were indeed her motives for the mode in which she acted in the case of the Jesuits, the Empress was not mistaken in her calculations. The good services which the Jesuits subsequently rendered her by their intrigues and plots against the very country where they had been overwhelmed for centuries with kindness and privileges, have greatly contributed to seal, perhaps for ever, the destiny of unhappy Poland.

It was in vain that Charles III. of Spain added his exertions to those of the holy father to dissuade Catherine from her resolution to take under her protection the order and its members. The Empress, in reply, referred to the Charter she had granted in 1772 to all Catholic institutions generally, from which grant, she alleged, the subsequent bull of dissolution had no power to exclude even the order of the Jesuits. She even threatened Clemens XIV. to withdraw her protection from *all* her Catholic subjects, should he insist on the execution of his bull in her dominions. The consequence was, that she not only confirmed the "fathers" in the undisturbed possessions of all their estates in White Russia, but even exempted them from all ground-rent and taxes on

the same, and allowed them to receive in their circle as many of the ex-Jesuits abroad who should be inclined to settle in her dominions.

A certain Stanislas Sestrenzevich (previously a Calvinist, and Prussian officer in a hussar regiment, but, since 1774, Catholic bishop of Malvi in White Russia) was in 1778 provided by Pius VI. with unlimited power and control over all the ecclesiastical orders in his diocese. Aware of the real sentiments of the new pope as regarded the Jesuit order, Stanislas at once granted (1779) to his *protégées*, the Loyolites, the formal establishment of a *noviciate* in White Russia, in return for which favour, the latter promoted by their influence with the Empress, the elevation of Stanislas to the newly created archbishopric at Mohilow. The "fathers" did so, however, under the condition that one of the members of their order, Pater Benislowski, should be installed coadjutor to the new metropolitan. Benislowski repaired (1783) on an imperial mission to Rome, to obtain for the new archbishop the *pallium*, in which he succeeded after considerable difficulty. He was, however, not so fortunate in the second part of his mission, to restore in due form the order of the Jesuits, as the pope

could not possibly accede to the request without irritating the courts of the Bourbons. Pius found it nevertheless expedient tacitly to sanction the election (1782) of Ezernievitz as Vicar-general of their order in Russia, the election having been made by the resident Jesuits there by permission of the Empress.

It may not be unimportant to mention, that Catherine II. showered all these favours on the "fathers" under the strict condition, that none of their actions and movements should in any way clash with the established laws of the land, and that their own statutes should in every respect be in harmony with those of the Russian empire. Catherine's successor, Paul I., was even a greater admirer of the Loyolites than his mother. He saw in them, at the representations of the French emigrants, a mighty bulwark against the further spread of revolutionary notions. He granted them (1800) the use of the Catholic church in his metropolis, allowed them to establish there a school, which they soon converted into a regular college, and supported with great zeal the efforts of their Vicar-general Kareu for the formal restoration of the order throughout Europe. His

success in that respect was however only partial; Pius VII. could only be persuaded to grant (1801) the restoration of the order in the *Russian empire alone*, naming Kareu General of the Jesuits residing in that country, but he would not venture to extend that measure to the other countries of Europe.

RESTORATION OF THE ORDER IN NAPLES AND SICILY.

FROM this partial restoration of the order, may be dated its formal and general regeneration a few years afterwards. Having formed secret unions throughout Europe, Pater Gabriel Gruber (successor of Kareu in Russia) applied (1803), through the medium of the French ambassador at Vienna, to Napoleon Bonaparte for the restoration of the order in France, promising in return a constant readiness on the part of the order to promote the Consul's political views in any way possible. The First Consul not being anxious to form such a dangerous alliance, returned no

reply to Gruber's letter. The latter was, however, more successful with Ferdinand IV. of Naples, who had in his younger years, though he greatly contributed to the dissolution of the order, become a convert to the Czar's views by bitter personal experience and the fatal results of the French revolution. The delegate of Gruber, Pater Angioli, found it therefore no difficult matter to persuade Ferdinand to join in the application to the pope of granting the same favour for Naples as he did for Russia. Pius VII. readily complied with the request by a breve (1804). After the lapse of a few months, the Jesuits occupied already at Naples three mansions, which they were about to convert into schools and convents, when, unfortunately for them, the French took possession (1806) of the greatest part of the kingdom, and Ferdinand and his court were obliged to fly and take up their abode in Sicily. Thither the French commander shipped also his favourite Loyolites, who by Ferdinand's liberality numbered in 1814, in Sicily, 200 members, with four colleges and one noviciate.

GENERAL RESTORATION OF THE ORDER
BY PIUS VII. IN 1814.

THE year 1814, which saw the triumph of old Europe over the great son of the Revolution, witnessed also the formal restoration of the society of Jesus in all the states of Catholic Christendom. It was the first act of Pope Pius VII. after his release from captivity, which he had undergone for five years, since 1808. This general restoration was one of the consequences of a time when both Catholics and Protestants were bent upon re-introducing old institutions into the new order of things, that they might serve in future as a defence against the demon of revolution. On the 7th August, 1814, the holy father, Pius VII., repaired in solemn procession to the Jesuit church at Rome, where, after saying mass at the altar of St. Ignatius, he ordered the public reading of the bull (*Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*), in which he restored the order of Jesus, together with the whole of its

constitution and privileges, in all Catholic countries indiscriminately. The contents of that bull are full of contradictions, if not untruths. He speaks in it of the dangers that were still surrounding the Chair of Peter, though he well knew that they no longer existed since the termination of the war, which, on the contrary, had opened the best prospects for papal aggression by the general mania in Europe, of reducing everything to the old anti-revolutionary *régime*. He further assures in it, that he restored the order at the earnest request of the *whole* Catholic world, while in truth, France, Germany, and Holland only learnt for the first time from the papal bull itself, that they had ever evinced an anxiety for the restoration. It is even a notorious fact that the Emperor Francis I. showed great reluctance to comply with the papal bull, and that also the Prince Regent of Portugal and Brazil (afterwards King John VI.) had formally protested (1815) against the repristination of the order, and openly declared that he would never tolerate the Jesuits in his dominions, nor ever enter into negotiations with the holy father on the subject. It was in fact only Spain, Italy, and a few cantons of Switzerland, that rejoiced at the restoration of the order, and for

some years afterwards the order was indeed only in these countries legally acknowledged by the state, while in the rest of Europe the Governments were extremely slow in complying with the holy father's will.

THE ORDER IN RUSSIA UNDER ALEXANDER I.

Until their Expulsion in 1820.

WE have seen in the foregoing pages how kindly the Loyolites were received and treated in Russia by Catherine II. and Paul I. Neither did Alexander I. treat them less so after his accession to the throne. In 1805 the General of the order, Berzozowsky (successor of Gruber), conceived the plan of bringing into the hands of the order, the whole department of public instruction in that most schismatic empire. The first steps towards the accomplishment of the plan consisted in the attempt at having their own college at Palozk raised to the rank of a university, and endow it not only with all the privileges peculiar to the other universities of the

empire, but also and chiefly with the control and supervision of all the schools of the order existing throughout Russia, a right that exclusively belonged to the state, or Minister of Public Instruction. The attempt gave rise to disputes between the Jesuits and the faculty of the University of Wilna, at that time the most exalted in Russia. The struggle assumed the same bitter character which distinguished similar conflicts before and since that period, between the pious fathers and the Catholic universities at Paris* and other places. Assisted by the powerful influence of Count *Joseph de Maistre*, the Sardinian Minister at the court of St. Petersburg, Alexander granted the Jesuits their request, and raised the college of Polozk (1812) to the rank of a university, against the will and remonstrances of Prince Galitzin, the then Minister of Worship and Public Instruction.

If the disciples of Ignatius would only possess in the days of prosperity half the prudence, moderation, and perseverance which we cannot help admiring in them in times of their adversity, verily, the dominion of the world, after which they are continually striving,

* *Vide Sequel.*

and of which they had so frequently possessed themselves, would not so easily escape their grasp, and their triumph and glory might, at all events, not be subject to so frequent changes and vicissitudes. Happily for mankind, however, the beams of fortune dazzle their sight, intoxicate their senses, and stimulate them to the commission of extravagant follies, by which they lose at one blow all the advantages they have gradually gained by long and hard labour and intrigues. Thus it happened with them also in Russia. Filled with pride at the victory they had obtained over their foes, and at the favour and confidence reposed in them by the Emperor Alexander, they began to set at nought the laws of the land, which strictly prohibit proselytism and conversion from the established religion of the empire. They soon threw out their nets with increasing impudence also among the votaries of the Greek church, whose children they frequently kidnapped for the salvation of their young souls, but also to the distress of the parents and indignation of the previous Government, while they had confined these baneful operations to the Jewish and Protestant inhabitants alone.

The want of proper teachers and tutors, which was then felt in Russia in a far higher degree than at present, had induced several distinguished families in the empire to intrust the Loyolites with the education of their children. So long as their schools stood under the immediate control of the state, the Jesuits thought it too dangerous to extend their conversion plans beyond the limits of the law. No sooner, however, had Government confided to them the authority over the schools, and reserved for itself only the superintendence of the Polozk university, than the pious fathers believed that the time had arrived when they might dispense with reserve and moderation. A great number of Greco-Catholic pupils in their schools soon became converts to the Roman Catholic Church ; and through the children the Jesuits found an easy way to the hearts of the mothers and other female relatives. The operations of conversion were carried on with such impudence and success among the higher circles, that even several ladies of rank, attached to the court, had secretly embraced the Roman Catholic religion against the will of their families. Not satisfied with these illegal proceedings, the "fathers" believed they might also engage with im-

punity in a warfare against the British Bible Society, which Alexander had encouraged throughout Russia with so much zeal and religious enthusiasm. The Loyolites saw in this Anglican propaganda a very dangerous rival, which they tried to combat and suppress by any means in their power. Even the entreaties, nay, the threats of the minister Galitzin, were unable to restrain them in their outrageous attacks upon that favourite society of the emperor, to which step they were in some measure encouraged by the formal and universal restoration of the order by Pius VII., which modified to a great extent the Russian character which the order had hitherto borne in the empire. As it now stood under the direct authority of Rome, that of the czar was naturally brought in question, and the Loyolites no longer considered themselves citizens of Russia. Two circumstances in particular accelerated the catastrophe in the political drama of the order in that empire. Prince Alexander Galitzin, nephew of the afore-mentioned minister, after having visited for two years the college of the pious fathers at St. Petersburg, openly declared, in 1814, his conversion to the Roman Catholic church, a circumstance

which excited the more attention, as he had, until that period, been notorious for his fanatical attachment to the established church of the country. Although he was at once removed from the college, and installed among the pages at court, he clung to his new religion with all the devotion of an orthodox Catholic, and was even once seen clad in the dress of a penitent monk, with curious amulets hung round his neck, and a scourging girdle round his body. It was long, before the Archbishop *Philarethes* succeeded in bringing him back to the religion of his family. While the above event was still the talk of the town, another intrigue of a similar character plunged one of the first families in the empire into the deepest mourning. A charming young princess had been by her parents confided to the instruction of a disciple of Loyola, who, to convert her to his creed, continually represented to her in the most fiendish colours the eternal torments she would have to undergo beyond the grave as a heretic. The poor girl, unwilling on the one hand to offend her parents, and wishing on the other to accustom herself in lifetime to the torments by fire, which she was sure awaited her after death, tried to exercise herself

into endurance by scorching her body several times a day with a hot-burning copper pan, until the repeated agonizing pain at last threw her on a sick bed, from which she never rose.

These facts induced the Emperor Alexander as soon as he was informed of them, to comply at least partially with the urgent requests of Galitzin and the whole of the Greek and Protestant clergy. He issued (January, 1816) an imperial ukase by which the Jesuit College at St. Petersburg was dissolved, and the members of the order banished from the two metropolises (Moscow and St. Petersburg) of the empire. It was a heavy blow for the order, no less than the holy father, to be scorned by the very monarch who was then considered to be the representative of traditional legitimacy throughout Europe, who, after the example of his predecessor, had protected the order with almost paternal care, and in whose dominions the Loyolites had found a cheerful home for nearly half a century. Alexander undisguisedly declared in the afore-named ukase that "he had earned but indifferent thanks from the order upon whom he and his ancestors had lavished so many favours, and that he had great reason to complain of the intrigues of the members to destroy the peace of

the country, &c. &c.” It may easily be imagined, that the pope and the order left no means untried to induce the czar to revoke the ukase. Alexander, however, remained inexorable.

Soon after the banishment of the Jesuits from the two metropolises of Russia, two of the worthy members arrived at Warsaw, for the purpose of requesting the Grand-Duke Constantine to allow them to establish a college in the Polish capital. Not venturing, however, to make such a bold request after their recent expulsion from the Russian capitals, they began by asking the favour of an audience from the grand-duke, naming for its object the permission for themselves and a few of their exiled brethren to take up their residence at Warsaw during the cold winter season. The readiness with which Constantine granted them their reasonable simple request during their interview with him, encouraged the fathers to enter into the details of their sufferings, and as the grand-duke seemed to listen to them with interest and sympathy, they had the imprudence or rather impudence to take chairs and sit down at the *side* of Constantine without his having bid them to do so. In the heat of their gesticulation, they gradually

approached so near the grand-duke as frequently to touch his arm. The latter felt so annoyed at the familiarity, that he rose and called for his carriage. The two fathers, however, far from taking the hint, actually followed him to the very steps of the carriage, and were about to enter it after Constantine had taken his seat, when the latter, losing all patience, said to them : " Now I am truly sick of it ; you have just shown me, my good fathers, the manner in which your order is accustomed to abuse the least favour held out to them. Within one single hour you have become, from timid petitioners, impudent claimants, not even allowing me the free use of my own time and carriage. I now limit your abode at Warsaw to only fourteen days." The anecdote was told by the grand-duke himself to the French ambassador, the Duke of Richelieu, and it certainly speaks volumes of the spirit that pervades the order. That Alexander did not visit them with the whole extent of his wrath, and banish them from the whole of his empire, instead of only the two metropolises, was no doubt owing to the fear he entertained lest they might reveal some unpleasant family secrets in which the heads of the order at least were initiated by their familiar inter-

course with the courts of Catherine II. and Paul I. Among the papers of Gruber (predecessor of Berzowski) were found, the czar knew it well, letters from his father, Emperor Paul, which were calculated highly to compromise himself and the whole house of Romanow. Neither were the fathers ignorant of the moral hold they had on the emperor, since they continued their labours of proselytism with unabated energy even after that partial expulsion from the metropolises, when the order still counted (1816) 674 members in the various parts of Russia. Alexander, though fully informed of the fact, still thought it proper to shut his eyes to their doings, and this show of leniency emboldened the fathers to extend their work of proselytism unreservedly and not without success even among the military circles of the empire. This fear of tell-tale exposure, explains also why Alexander would not listen to the urgent request of Berzowski, and allow him to leave Russia and fix his abode at Rome, at the solemn and repeated invitation of the pope. He remained almost a prisoner at Polozk to the end of his life, to the 5th February, 1820,

Since their partial expulsion from Russia, vindic-

tiveness prompted the fathers to excite even the Chinese against the czar, and it was indeed chiefly owing to their influence, that some of the learned travellers who had been sent by the Russian government on a scientific mission to China were not allowed to remain at Peking. Some time before the death of Berzozowski, Alexander was authentically informed of the existence of a conspiracy by the order, having for its object nothing less than the restoration of the independence of Poland and the elevation upon its throne of a scion of the old Poniatowsky family. They had gained a great number of partisans to the cause at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Smolensk, Wovonesch, Archangel, and even at Cherson in the Caucasus. Alexander waited, however, patiently, until the death of Berzozowski (which the Jesuits alleged was not natural) before he ordered the total and eternal expulsion of the Loyolites from the Russian empire. This was done by an ukase of the 20th March, 1820. Apprehending a rise in their behalf by the peasantry of their localities, military divisions were dispatched thither to watch and hasten their departure. The university at Polozk, and all the other schools and colleges of the order were abolished, and the pupils

transferred partly to the episcopal seminaries and partly to the university at Wilna. The territorial possessions or domains of the order were sequestered by the crown, and the revenue applied for the benefit of the Roman Catholic churches in Russia. The pious fathers were brought at the expense of government under escort to the frontier of the empire, where each received from thirty to fifty ducats travelling expenses. Most of them repaired to Rome, Vienna, or Galicia, where they met with hospitable receptions.

The reasons assigned in the ukase for the total expulsion of the Jesuits were: their love of intrigues, proselytism, meddling in family affairs, and seduction of the feeble sex. Of the discovered conspiracy, however, not a word was mentioned; the Russian government generally does not like to talk loudly of even the possible existence of such phenomena, and events of such character are usually suppressed secretly, and without the process of judicial formalities. To the above assigned reasons, which are in themselves of sufficient force, another was added in the official report of the minister Galitzin. It says, "that the Loyolites, who profess to educate the whole human race, have nevertheless left their own

serfs, amounting to more than 22,000 souls, in the greatest ignorance possible, as also in the most wretched state of physical misery. During his travels through the interior, the emperor has had numerous opportunities to convince himself of the fact. He had met on the high roads numbers of those individuals, who, having by physical sufferings become unfit for hard bodily labour, were cast as beggars upon society, provided with certificates to that effect from their masters, the Jesuits. The emperor," the report continues, "had frequently spoken on the subject to the pater-general, and observed that it seemed to him incompatible with the doctrines of Christianity, to throw upon public charity wretched serfs, and more especially when those who have caused their ruin have ample means in hand to provide for their bare existence." The report, or act of accusation, concludes with the general observation:—"All actions of the Jesuits have no other motive than that of their own benefit, and no other object than the unlimited aggrandizement of their power, while they have no equals in the skill of discovering a plausible excuse or authority for any of their meanest actions, in the statutes of their order."

RESTORATION OF THE ORDER IN SPAIN IN 1815, AND ITS EXPULSION IN 1835.

By a peculiar coincidence, in the same year that the Loyolites were expelled from one extreme part of Europe, they met with the same fate in also the opposite extreme part of Europe. Already in 1799, King Charles IV. had recalled to his dominions the surviving members of the order whom his father had banished thence. But as the popular feeling of the nation was against their presence, the king was obliged, after the lapse of a few years, to rebanish them from Spain. An attempt by Berzozowski, in 1812, to induce the Cortes to their recall, equally failed. No sooner, however, had Ferdinand VII. ascended the throne, than he thought proper to reinvite the Jesuits, and more especially as the pope had about the same time restored the order throughout Catholic christendom. Like many of his brethren *by the grace of God*, he was of opinion that the sons of St. Ignatius were the best pillars of thrones, and that they were unparalleled in the art of quieting the

consciences of monarchs who did not find it to their interest to keep their solemn promises made in time of need to their subjects. Indeed, the warm recommendations and urgent solicitations addressed by the pope to Ferdinand, in favour of the Jesuits, seemed quite superfluous, as regarded the personal feelings of the king, though they greatly assisted to render harmless the opposition he had met with by the high Council of Castilia on that point. Despite the almost unanimous opposition of the Council, Ferdinand issued (29th May, 1815) a decree for the re-establishment of the order throughout Spain, and the restoration to its members of all their previous domains, which had not been disposed of. Emanuel Zuniga (provincial of Sicily), who had been deputed from Rome to regulate the relations of the order in Spain, was received at Madrid, where he had arrived in company of fathers *Ossuna* and *De Silva*, with great popular demonstrations of joy and satisfaction, and even the old rivals of the Jesuits, the Dominican and Franciscan monks, showed their satisfaction by accompanying the new comers in solemn procession to the capital. At the invitation of Zuniga, 115 grey-headed Spanish Jesuits soon made their appearance in the metro-

polis, to whom was transferred, by order of the monarch (29th March, 1816), the royal college at Madrid, with all its estates and revenues. The college instruction commenced on the same evening with an introductory lecture by the professor of mathematics, who opened his discourse by remarking that "all the evils that had befallen Europe for the last thirty years are solely the results of the extravagant notions of enlightenment and education propagated in the last century, and calculated to mislead men to rebellion and impiety. I therefore propose to teach only arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, as the lecturing on the higher branches of mathematics might seduce pupils into materialism and atheism." . . . Aware of the high opinion entertained by the monarch of the loyalty, utility, and powers of the Jesuits, and the great hold they had upon him, the whole population, as if with a simultaneous consent, conceived all of a sudden a great liking for the order. Twenty-five of the most prominent towns of Spain petitioned in the most vehement manner the monarch to favour them with the godly men. At Barcelona, Valencia, Cadiz, Sevilla, and Tortosa, public festivities were held at the reception of the joyous tidings, that the monarch

had complied with their request, while at Navarre and Guipuzcoa the arrival of the Jesuits was solemnized as a national holiday. Already, towards the close of the year 1815, the order possessed in Spain ten colleges, while the continual demand for new institutions rendered it necessary to renovate the old superannuated stock by new Jesuit-recruits. To induce the Spanish youth to enter the order, a very mild, almost loose discipline was introduced in the *noviciates*, in direct opposition to the rigorous statutes of the order. Instead of accustoming the young men to abstinence and labour, the profuse luxuries of their table could compete with any princely in the kingdom, while the permission they so easily obtained of retiring for days and weeks to the country-seats belonging to the order, naturally encouraged them to indulgence in all sorts of excesses and debauchery.

In return for the services rendered to them by Ferdinand VII. and his people, the Jesuits have done their best to render the reign of that prince one of the most execrable, and the condition of his people one of the most wretched and deplorable on earth. They were the soul, the invisible movers of that *Camarilla* whose low intrigues and abominable manœuvres con-

verted within a few years the majority of the servile adorers of Ferdinand into his bitterest enemies, and who forced him in the end, to sanction and accept the constitution of 1812. Neither did the Loyolites fare much better under the revolutionary agitations. The re-established Cortes (1820) re-abolished the order, and applied its revenues and domains to the benefit of the public treasury. Each of the old Jesuits who had come over from Italy received a pension of 300 ducats so long as he remained in the country, but they were obliged to lay aside the costume of the order, and officiate as lay-priests under the jurisdiction of the local bishops. The novices were all restored to their friends and relations, while those who had actually entered the order remained under the same category as the old members, with the only exception that the amount of their pension was rather smaller.

The reverses of the Jesuits in Spain were however of very short duration. Assisted by the arms of France, Ferdinand recovered his unlimited sovereignty, and with it re-introduced the order in Spain (1824), restored to the members their privileges and property, and extended even much farther their control and authority over the institutions of national in-

struction. Even in the new military school, founded at Segovia in 1825, the professors of theology, history, politics, and geography belonged to the Jesuit order, while father *Gil* received even the appointment of president of the royal Ordnance-college of the same place. Besides many other grants and privileges, Ferdinand entrusted them also with the civil administration of the country, and did in fact hardly anything of importance without consulting his beloved fathers. No wonder, that under such extraordinary favours the number of the members had increased from 397 in 1820, to 900 in 1826. The order became moreover the wealthiest class in the whole kingdom, and there was hardly a family of rank and distinction in which a Jesuit did not officiate as chaplain or confessor. The Jesuits now began to reclaim the restitution of their domains in Spain, which had been sequestrated and disposed of to private individuals some fifty years ago. They refused to refund even a part of the purchase-money, and went to law with the holders, who in most cases were even condemned to pay the costs of the suit. The enormous wealth of the order about that time may be gathered from the fact, that they bought for *ready*

cash from Government the domains of their old foes, the Franciscans, for 20,000,000 piastres (4,000,000*l.*); and still more remarkable is the reply of the provincial of the Jesuits to one of his old lay friends, who wondered at the large amount: the order, he replied, was resolved to be possessed of those domains, and would have paid down even double the amount, had Government insisted upon the figure.

In the civil war which ensued after the death of Ferdinand VII. (1833), the Jesuits took the part of Don Carlos, whose sons had been educated in their schools according to the custom of the old Spanish aristocracy. Pater Mariano Puyal had been entrusted since 1824 with the education of the present pretender to the throne, the Count Montemolin. They spared neither money nor intrigues to procure the ascendancy for their favourite don. The rancour of their party spirit was so notorious, that a rumour found ready credit among the masses, to the effect that they had poisoned the wells of Madrid, which report caused a most frightful popular outbreak in that place against them. National guards, accompanied by numbers of infuriated citizens, assembled (17th July, 1834) before the college of the worthy fathers, with the cry of

“ Poison, poison ! death to the Jesuits.” The latter were about to make their escape, when the bolted gates were broken open by the people, whose rage now knew no bounds, and more especially after having been fired at by the besieged within the gates. The co-adjutor (Ruedas), the prefect of the seminary (Carassa), together with twelve other members, were killed on the spot, while some others were mutilated for life by the loss of an ear, cheek, and other barbarous atrocities. No injury was however done to the pupils of the college, nor was the order formally abolished, before July 1835, so that the surviving fathers had more than a year’s time to save and secure at least a great portion of their wealth (estimated at 300,000,000 reales, or 3,000,000*l.*). It was only in 1835 that a royal decree appeared ordering the banishment of the Jesuits, the abolition of their college and other establishments, and the sale of their property for the public exchequer. The Jesuits of Spanish descent, however, were permitted to remain in the country, Government allowing to each of them five reales (one shilling) per diem. Many of the latter made their way to the northern provinces, which still adhered to Don Carlos. After these provinces were however,

in 1839, brought under the authority of the constitutional queen (Maria Christina), the Jesuits were obliged to leave Spain altogether, though they subsequently found means of returning to their old haunts, under the secret protection of the petticoat-government. Thirteen Jesuits retook possession of their college at Cordova in 1844, while more than a hundred members of the order are still found scattered about in various parts of the kingdom.

INTRODUCTION OF THE ORDER IN PORTUGAL BY DOM MIGUEL IN 1829; ITS EXPULSION BY DOM PEDRO IN 1834.

Of far shorter duration was the restoration of the order in the neighbouring Portugal. We have mentioned above, that King John VI. had addressed a very energetic protest to the pope in 1815, against the admission of the Jesuits in his dominions; to this view he adhered to the last, and would have nothing to do with the pious fathers. It was only his son,

Dom Miguel, who resolved (10th July, 1829) to open the country to the disciples of St. Ignatius "for the advancement of the welfare of his dear subjects," as he alleged. In the decree for their admission, he however plainly stipulated, that neither the property nor the privileges which they previously possessed in Portugal should ever be restored to them on their return to the country. The fathers on their arrival at Lisbon (29th August, 1829) were but sparingly provided with pecuniary means by Dom Miguel, owing to the sad state of his own finances, and it was only in December, 1830, that their old institution at St. Antonio, in the capital, was restored to them by Government, while more than another year elapsed before they received back, at the intercession of Bonaventura, Archbishop of Evora their old famous college at Coimbra (9th Jan., 1832). The first pupils therein were the three sons of the Countess Oliveira (granddaughter of the great Pombal!). The Jesuits were however not long in the enjoyment of these possessions. No sooner had Dom Pedro expelled from the throne the usurper, than he hastened to banish from Portugal Miguel's *protegees*, the pious fathers. The decree of their banishment

was dated (24th May, 1834) nine days after the decisive battle of *Asseceira*, and only two days before the treaty of Evora, by which Dom Miguel resigned the throne of Portugal for ever. The decree proved fatal to the Jesuits. At Coimbra they were arrested, and like culprits dragged from prison to prison, until they were lodged in the horrible tower of St. Julien, from which they were however soon released by the intercession of the French ambassador, Baron Mortier, who claimed them as his countrymen. They then left Portugal for ever, as they said, most of them turning to Italy, and particularly to Rome and Naples.

THE ORDER IN THE PAPAL STATES.— INTERNAL SQUABBLES.

Pater-General Roothaan.

THE eternal city has only since the death of Berzozowski become the focus of the "order of Jesus." In later times, we have mentioned above, the Emperor Alexander would not allow Berzozowski, the general of the order, to quit Polozk, and take up his residence at Rome; by this means Polozk had remained until the death of the general the real seat of the government of the order. The death of Berzozowski (1820) forms an epoch in the annals of the order. Pius VII. had lavished his favours upon the order ever since its restoration in 1814. On the same day of its repristination, he also restored to the order the three palaces which they formerly possessed at Rome, and endowed moreover very richly in the following years their new colleges at Viterbo, Urbino, Orvieto, Ferrara, Terni, Tivoli, Fano, Ferentino, and Benevento. The immense progress which the Jesuits had since made throughout Italy, had greatly excited

the jealousy not only of all the other orders, but also of a considerable number of the lay-priesthood at large. After the death of Berzozowski, the opponent orders united their efforts to suppress the Jesuits, or at least to lessen their influence with the pope.

They found powerful allies in the ambitious "father" Mariano Petrucci (rector of the noviciate at Genoa, and temporary vicar-general of the order), as also in the Cardinal della Genga. It is to this day not clearly understood, what the motives of the cardinal might have been to act as an opponent to the Jesuits, since it was well known that he belonged to the *Zelanti*, or the orthodox party, who were always in favour of the order. Be this however as it may, it is a fact, that having been appointed by Pius VII. papal vicar, or head of the ecclesiastical administration at Rome, he put all sorts of obstacles in the way of the clerical chapter-general, who had assembled for the election of a new general for the order, in the place of Berzozowski deceased. He found a great supporter in Petrucci, who expected to become general of the order by the peremptory and direct authority of the pope, who might have used that prerogative in order to make an end to the protracted

interregnum. Petrucci and Della Genga would probably have carried their point, or the pope, disgusted perhaps at the split in the camp, would have thought proper to allow the order to fall into decay, had it not found a warm protector in Cardinal Consalvi, secretary of state. The latter, though by no means a friend of the order, was however induced to take it under his protection, out of spite to Della Genga, an old enemy of his, whose plans he was glad to have an opportunity of thwarting. He effected a papal decree (3rd October, 1820) abolishing the vicarage-general and ordering the speedy election of a general for the order. After considerable delay on the part of the opponents, in which the pope was again obliged to interfere by a second decree, the chapter at last met for the purpose of election. But Petrucci, the president of the chapter, having found fault with the written powers presented by the deputies of England, France, and Italy, which were as he said irregular, and not in due form, objected to the admission of those deputies as competent electors. He was however outvoted on that point, and as he still protested against the decision, and even threatened to appeal to another tribunal, the chapter dismissed him from

his post as president. The election now proceeded without interruption, and on the 18th December, 1820, Father Luigi Fortis (aged seventy-two years) was elected general of the order. Petrucci, who was tried before a commission, was found guilty, but having shown great penitence, he escaped punishment, while his accomplices were expelled for ever from the society.

Pius VII. having died (20th August, 1823), Cardinal della Genga ascended the holy chair of St. Peter (28th September, 1823) under the name of pope Leo XII. It was fully expected that he would now take his revenge, and suppress, or at least inflict injuries upon the order; neither did the Jesuits themselves anticipate much less, from his well known vindictive character. They were however agreeably mistaken; no sooner had he entered upon his pontificate, than he evinced the most benevolent feelings towards the order. In January, 1824, he made over to the members the college Romano, the oratory del Caravita, the Gregorian observatory, as also all the other institutions founded by them previous to the dissolution of the order in 1773, the restoration of which having been hitherto refused to them.

The college Romano, which was opened in November, 1824, remained until very recently an ecclesiastical university, while the Caravita oratory, or church, was devoted to nocturnal missions, *i. e.*, the Jesuits held there nocturnal sermons and religious exercises; they also confessed there lay-people and granted absolution in the hours of night. Leo XII. subsequently also assigned to them the old Jesuit college in his native place, Spoleto, as also the Borromi palace, which had originally been built by the Jesuits, and was of an enormous size. After the dissolution of the order in 1773 it had been let to private families. In 1826 it was occupied by about forty families, exclusive of the numerous shops and magazines on the ground floor. All these tenants and occupiers were now suddenly ejected by the Jesuits, who took possession of the building, and separated it by a wall from the adjoining edifices.

The result of the extraordinary favour shown by Leo XII. to the Jesuits was that, at his death (10th February, 1829), their number had so increased at Rome, that there were not institutions in sufficient number to hold them all. A new settlement was in consequence prepared for them without the precincts

of the city. After the death of their general, Forbes, (fourteen days after that of the pope,) the Jesuits experienced new vexations from the other orders at the election of his successor, but were soon released from their difficulties by the energetic interposition of Cardinals Pacca and Gregorio, who, themselves rivals for the Tiara, gave, nevertheless, their votes in the conclave in favour of their colleague, Castiglioni, after having obtained from him the solemn promise that he would without delay decree the election of a new general for the order. No sooner had he ascended the holy chair (as pope Pius VIII.) than he ordered the immediate convocation of the chapter for the speedy election of a general for the order. The chapter met at Rome on the 20th June, 1829; and after ten days deliberation, the election fell on father *Roothaan*.

With the exception of Aquaviva (died 1615), the order did not possess for its chief a man so young in years, and yet so endowed with various acquirements and possessing such pre-eminent talents as did Roothaan, who is to this day (we believe) the *præpositus generalis* of the order. He was born at Amsterdam on the 20th November, 1785, and served

for some time as clerk to Myaheer Mos, a tobacco manufacturer of that place. At the age of nineteen, he entered (1804) the college of the Jesuits at Palozk, where he displayed considerable tact, talent, and activity. At forty-five, he was elected general of the order, and was not unjustly called the greatest political head and the most skilful pilot to whom the vessel of the society of Jesus was ever confided. The general opinion at Rome was, that Heaven deigned to signify its approval of his election by a miracle. On the ninth day after his election (18th July) a frightful storm had broken over the eternal city at the moment when eighty of the disciples of Jesus were assembled for prayer at the chapel of St. Louis Gonzaga. The lightning entered at two points of the chapel and passed through the midst of the praying monks without inflicting the least injury to any. "A miracle, a miracle!" shouted the assembly, in which cry the pious fathers of course joined with heart and soul. Though it cannot be denied, that the successful schemes of the Jesuits were at that period greatly promoted by the spirit of the age, by a general re-action in favour of religious fanaticism, with which even the most enlightened courts of Europe seemed affected, it

must be admitted on the other hand, that Roothaan's distinguished talents had not a little contributed to the success of the order. He was, properly speaking, not only the leader of his own order, but virtually the moving spirit and absolute ruler of the whole ecclesiastical administration within the dominions of the pope, and even of the Vatican itself. Hence the lamentable condition in which the succeeding pope had found at his accession the affairs of his country and his people, Father Roothaan having turned every available interest and resource of the state not only to the sole advantage of his order, but also to the great injury and neglect of the moral and material welfare of the country generally. Thus it happened, that during his absolute power, even the erection of railways, for instance, was wholly out of question in the papal states, as he was bent to keep the increasing masses of the citizen-beggars more and more dependant on the support of the wealthy order of Jesus. Gregory XVI., who succeeded (2nd February, 1831) pope Pius VIII., was a mere puppet in the hands of Roothaan, and did all he could, soon after his accession, to benefit the Jesuits, even to indemnify them for the losses they had sustained at

the hands of the insurgents in Italy soon after the July revolution in France.

The insurgents had stormed their colleges at Spoleto, Fano, Forli, Ferrara, and other places, and forced the fathers to save themselves by flight; and though tranquillity was soon restored by the intervention of the Austrian troops, much damage had been done to the buildings and their contents.

One of the first decrees of the new pope consisted in a provision of quite a novel character; it invited all the monks of whatever order living at Rome to accustom themselves to the pious and ascetic exercises adopted by the Jesuits. The Jesuit-church was chosen for the theatre of, and father Finetti as the instructor in, those exercises. Soon afterwards (2nd October, 1831) Gregory XVI. issued an edict, by which the whole system of education adopted in all the schools throughout the papal states, including the two chief secular universities, at Bologna and Sapienza at Rome, was to be reformed in the true spirit of the Loyolites, while five years afterwards (1836), the same pope likewise entrusted them with the exclusive management of the famous college of the Propaganda. Still later, he restored to them the

Loretto and Illyrian colleges, which had been under their control before 1773.

In addition, pope Gregory granted to the order a boon of a spiritual character, that of beatifying a great number of the members. A *beatification* (*i. e.*, the pope raising the individual into the rank of the *lower nobility* in heaven) is fraught with heavy expenses; it costs about 25,000 dollars, while a *canonisation* (*i. e.*, the advancement to the rank of the *highest aristocracy* in heaven) costs several hundred thousands of dollars, as it entitles the individual to the dedication of altars and churches *on earth* to his memory. And though the revenues accruing to the papal exchequer from these sources are very considerable, yet were the popes usually very sparing and economical in the granting of those celestial privileges, probably not to depreciate the articles in the terrestrial market. It was therefore a great favour which the pope showed to the Jesuits, by granting them as many blessed saints as they were able and willing to pay for.

THE ORDER IN THE TWO SICILIES AND SARDINIA.

WE have mentioned in the foregoing pages that the Loyolites, after their banishment from Portugal, had made their way chiefly to Rome and Naples, two places where their order was mostly cherished and held in high esteem. We also know, that they stood in very high favour with Ferdinand IV. (since 1816 Ferdinand I.), even before the universal restoration of the order by Pius VII. No sooner had Ferdinand re-entered Naples, than he fetched from Sicily his beloved Loyolites, to whom he restored their old college with all its estates, and entrusting them, moreover, with the almost exclusive education of the nation at large. His successor, Francis I. (1st January, 1825), generally acted up to the principles of his father, and created even a new Jesuit college at his own expense, for the exclusive education of the young nobility. Such of the pupils who had distinguished themselves in religion and literature were subsequently taken in special favour by King Ferdinand II. (November, 1830), during whose reign both

the influence and settlements of the Jesuits had increased to an enormous extent. In the kingdom of Naples they possessed in 1844, besides the above colleges in the capital, also some at Aquila, Lecce, Maglie, Salerno, and Sorrento; and in Sicily, at Palermo, Caltanissetta, Alcamo, Trapani, Marsala, Monte Albano, Modica, Mazzara, Roto, Salemi, and Termini.

In the second kingdom of the Peninsula, at Sardinia, the Loyolites acquired a still more brilliant position. King Victor Emanuel, whose patrimony, in addition to the late republic of Genoa, had been restored to him by an act of the Congress of Vienna, had by a long series of misfortunes imbibed on the one hand a deep hatred against the innovations of the present age, and an enthusiastic love for the good olden times with all their traditions and institutions on the other. He played somewhat the part of a Don Quixote in all matters touching legitimacy, and caused even the exotic plants reared in the botanical garden by the French *savans*, to be torn out and destroyed as Jacobine noxious weeds. No wonder, then, that he took the first opportunity, after the restoration of the order in 1814, to recall to his dominions the

members of the order, "the pious sons of St. Ignatius, the strong pillars of the throne and altar."* Already, in 1815, they had opened at Turin their previous college, and the same they did in the following year (1816) at Genoa. The king went so far in his partiality for them, that he compelled the university of Genoa to restore to them the domain, which government had, after the dissolution of the order in 1773, transferred to that university, the annual income of which amounted to about £4000. This violent act of gross partiality no doubt greatly contributed to alienate from him the hearts of the Genoese. The seat of the Muses faded away in the flower of its existence, while the indemnifications promised by the monarch for the withdrawal of those revenues, were never fulfilled. Despite, however, the unpleasant feelings created thereby in the minds of the people against the Loyolites, the latter succeeded in accumulating in the capital of Liguria, a considerable sum of money. The inhabitants and noble families, from fear of their power,

* One of his ancestors, King Victor Amadeus, (died 1732,) had a far different opinion of the Jesuits. He being asked one day, why the Jesuits did not sing high mass, after the custom of the other orders of the Catholic church—"Birds of prey," replied he, "never sing."—*Zschokke*, p. 283.

not only offered no resistance whatever to the operations of the Jesuits, but even tried to ingratiate themselves with them by rich legacies and charitable contributions, which latter they delivered into the hands of the Jesuits for discretionary distribution among the poor, and the greatest part of which no doubt went into the coffers of the Jesuit Exchequer. Within a short time, the fathers at Genoa were enabled to purchase a magnificent country seat at Montebello (in the province Tortona), though they still went begging from house to house for charitable contributions to their *poor* institution, which few had the courage to refuse, while others agreed to contribute a certain sum per month, amounting in all to upwards of 12,000 lire a year.

The success and spread of the Jesuits under Victor Emanuel and his two successors, were so extensive that there was hardly a place in Sardinia where the order had not colleges and other institutions of its own, as also the almost unlimited control over all other secular establishments for national education. Its treasury, too, had increased almost daily, by numerous legacies from pious laymen, among which we may mention the sum of 500,000 lire bequeathed by Count Boigne (1822) for the foundation

and endowment of their college at Chambéry. Not satisfied, however, with thrusting the hard earnings of the poor people into the pockets of the sons of St. Ignatius, Victor Emanuel did not scruple to extend their influence over the educational department, and gradually also over the civil administration of the poor country. Queen Theresa and her confessor, the Jesuit Botta, were the actual rulers of the land. From them emanated the tyrannical decrees which caused a popular outbreak in 1821, and forced the old monarch to resign in favour of his brother Charles Felix. The latter proved even more bigoted and partial to the Loyolites than his brother; he frequently went through the pious discipline and exercises of the order, not despising even to wear the *robe courte*, the apparel of the order. Father *John Grassi* became his confessor, and it was with this monk that the pater-general, Roothaan, at that time superior of the college at Turin, shared the control over the conscience of the monarch and his court. The first use these two godly men made of their absolute power consisted in the abolition (1821) of the so-called old college *delle Provincie*, which had been founded in 1729 by Victor Amadeus, in connection with the university at Turin, that col-

lege having proved, they feared, a successful rival of their own schools. It has only been restored of late by King Charles Albert, and christened after him (collegio Albertine), which step gave great satisfaction to the people, though the Jesuits decried the college as the nursery of heresy and all sorts of vices. Like many of his crowned brethren of our time, King Felix laboured under the impression that the only remedy against popular outbreaks and insurrections consisted in withholding from the masses the light of education, and in narrowing the sphere of their mental development. The Jesuits were therefore entrusted with the unlimited control over the higher schools of the kingdom, and subsequently also over the universities of Turin and Genoa. They formed the Board of the *Riforma*, or the supreme tribunal over all the colleges and schools public and private, which were regularly visited by the members of their commission to report on the conduct of these establishments. By these means they had it in their power to appoint at the two universities teachers and professors who proved blind instruments in their hands, and only taught doctrines in conformity with the views entertained by their arbiters, the Jesuits.

Also under Charles Albert, the successor of Felix (27th April, 1831), the Sardinian state remained for fifteen years the second Paraguay of the Jesuits. Immediately after his accession he said to *Father Grassi*: "The order has lost in the deceased monarch a protector and father; I will endeavour to supply both, by my love and favour;" and he honestly kept his word. Like his predecessors he honoured and cherished the Loyolites as the strongest pillars of his throne. He showed himself uncommonly liberal to them, and presented them, among others, with his splendid palace, Doria-Tursi, at Genoa, which they soon converted into a college of their own. Nay, he even compelled the municipal authorities of the place to support the new institution by an annual contribution of 10,800 lire. Not unfrequently, he even subordinated his royal authority to the will and intrigues of the Jesuits to an almost incredible degree, as was plainly seen in the case of the daughter of the late Dutch ambassador (Heldevier) at Turin. His only child and heiress, nineteen years old, had been (in June, 1844) induced by the Loyolites to fly from her father's house, become a convert to the Catholic religion, and take the veil in one of the convents in

that place. All the efforts of the father to recover his child remained fruitless, and in a private audience he had with Charles Albert, the latter expressed his sympathy with the distressed parent, but regretted that he could not interfere in the matter. Even the energetic notes of Count Liedekerke, the successor of Heldevier, assisted by the reclamations of the ministers of England, Prussia, and at last also of Austria, had no other result, than that the Sardinian government declined in the most positive terms any foreign interference in a matter not strictly belonging to their province. The distressed father was obliged to depart without his child. It was only when the Sardinian monarch thought fit to put himself at the head of the liberal party, that the Jesuits lost power, influence, and finally even existence, in Sardinia, as will be seen in the sequel.

We must not omit noticing here, that the conduct of the Loyolites in countries where they were only endeavouring to acquire power, influence, and dominion, or where they had still to struggle against dangerous rivals, is far different from that in those states where they were already sure and in quiet possession of power. The recent history of the Je-

suits in Sardinia amply illustrates that difference. Capacities and talents, which the pious fathers carefully try to withdraw from the public eye when labouring under misgivings of failure or even uncertainty of success, shine forth in all their ostentatious glory, as soon as they think themselves safe from attack and competition. Thus in other countries where their position is less secure, they would never have dared to scorn public opinion to that extent as they did in Sardinia, where they were officially engaged as *police spies*.*

If the lay clergy, no matter where, could be aware how oppressive the yoke is which the sons of Loyola are trying to place upon them as soon as they (the Loyolites) have succeeded in appropriating to themselves the sovereign power of their locality, they would assuredly take good care not to promote so devotedly the wishes of the Jesuits, and allow them to settle and gain a footing amongst them. The Sardinian clergy, who, in that respect, merited so much of the society of Jesus, learned at last to their horror, the great injury they have inflicted upon themselves by that charitable and well-meant step. No sooner had the Jesuits

* Gioberti, IV., 361; V., 215.

obtained the brilliant position at court and in the country to which we have alluded above, than they treated also the other clerical orders with tyrannical cruelty that increased from year to year. The least opposition to any of their most detestable wishes, was visited by a punishment of the most atrocious and vindictive character. We will cite as an instance the case of the parochial clergy at Genoa, whom the Jesuits had requested to adopt a form of penitence at once novel and immoral. Having refused to comply with the request, they were decried in and without the country as persons given to heresy. They were so terribly persecuted on all occasions, that they addressed themselves to their archbishop, Cardinal Tadini, to have their character sifted and cleared; the latter, however, dared not to intercede energetically in their behalf.

To the particularly *amiable* qualities of the Loyolites belongs also envy, or hostility against all charitable and benevolent institutions which are not of Jesuitical origin, or stand at least in no connection with them. They hate such institutions, because they look at the founders or managers as rivals in public opinion and public merit, which they claim exclu-

sively for themselves. No sooner were infant, and ragged-schools, as also lodging-houses for beggars, established at Turin and Genoa, and other Sardinian towns, than the Jesuits persecuted them with all the animosity peculiar to their character.

One of them, a certain pater Ferdinand Minini, denounced openly from the pulpit (1838) in the cathedral St. Ambrosio, at Genoa, these institutions, and even the savings-banks, and similar other establishments of modern invention, as wicked and sinful, alleging, among others, the circumstance that they were first introduced in Protestant countries, where they are managed and promoted by heretics and irreligious individuals. If, concluded the preacher, such institutions were really for the salvation of pious Christians, they would certainly have been introduced already by the holy apostles. Another pious father, a certain *Tibero Sagrini*, professor of elocution at the college of Turin, denounced and condemned (10th Nov. 1844) from the pulpit of the St. Martyrs's church, in that place, the existence of the "poor lodging houses" in that capital, as sinful and impious. The condemnation gave rise to a characteristic negotiation between the administration of

that charitable establishment, and the provincial of the Jesuits, pater *Antonio Bresciani*. The latter, in a conference with the directors, assured them, that he had heard with much regret the harsh expressions used by *Sagrini*, and promised most solemnly, that the same preacher should on the following Sunday not only recall those expressions, but on the contrary recommend the institution to the benevolent attention of the citizens. *Sagrini* was thereupon ushered into the presence of the governors, when he acknowledged the justice of the promise, and his ready compliance with it. The governors of the institution, rejoiced at the happy turn of affairs, deputed one of their members to the provincial to thank him for his intercession in behalf of the charitable institution. Having repeated his previous promise, he sent for *Sagrini* to confirm it by his own assurance, which the latter did without reserve and equivocation. On the following Saturday, however, *Bresciani* wrote to the president, that *Sagrini* had nothing to recall from any of his condemnatory expressions. And as regarded the sacred promise, it was given, *Bresciani* argued, confidentially, it was to be kept a secret from the public in the interval, but

since it had been noised abroad (probably by the Jesuits themselves), he did not think it any longer binding upon his conscience. The Loyolites were, however, unsuccessful in their intriguing attempts to destroy these institutions, and the only thing they did accomplish was, to bring the ragged-schools at Genoa for some time under the conduct and management of the so-called "*brothers of ignorance*," an epithet given to the "*brothers of Christian schools*." The institution was first introduced in France by the Abbé John Baptist *de la Salle*, (canon of Rheims in 1679), and confirmed in 1724 by Pope Benedict XIII. Its object was principally the instruction of the children of the lower or ignorant classes. Expelled from France in 1790, the society had turned to Italy, and particularly to Sardinia, where they possessed some considerable settlements. Napoleon allowed them (in 1801) to return to France; there they had made considerable progress during that Emperor's reign, and still more so during the Restoration and the July Government. In 1825, 1400 of the *ignorant brethren* or *fathers* occupied in France not less than 210 houses, while in 1842, 2136 members were instructing 150,000 children. At the time when the members of the society

lived in exile in Italy, a close connection seemed to have been formed between them and the Jesuits, who had passed by the name of *fathers of faith*, who to conceal the real character of their order passed by as many names as they could properly assume. We know at least, that a portion of the *fathers of faith* who had returned to France during the emperor's reign, appeared there under the name of *christian school brothers* (ignorants). There existed, at all events, a close alliance between the two orders at that time, the latter forming, as it were, the tail of the Loyolites in several states, and more especially in the interior of Sardinia, where the elementary instruction was chiefly in their hands. The above-mentioned *poor or ragged-schools* at Genoa had been founded in the beginning of the eighteenth century by a noble-minded curate, a certain *Garaventa*, and were supported by voluntary contributions collected by the humane and philanthropic lay clergy; and yet, strange as it may appear, it is a fact, that the insinuations of the Jesuits, that attempts were made in these schools to stifle in the breasts of the children the love and affection for their parents, found ready credence at the court of Turin, when King Charles Albert

ordered thereupon (in Feb. 1838) to transfer these schools to the *brothers of ignorance*, endowing them at the same time with a considerable annuity. In 1841, however, these public schools had become so completely deserted through the mismanagement of the *ignorant brothers*, or *brothers of ignorance*, that a number of the wealthy Genoese citizens founded at their own cost similar schools, which they confided to the care of competent, honest, and worthy lay-clergy.

THE ORDER IN MODENA, PARMA, AND TUSCANY;

Its previous attempts in Lucca.

THE Loyolites possessed in the duchy of Modena not less power and influence than they did in Sardinia. Thither they were invited by Francis IV. soon after his restoration to the throne (16th Oct. 1815). Already in 1816, he had not only restored to them their previous college in the capital, together with all the lands and estates attached to it, but had even founded for them a new settlement at Reggio. The

two colleges soon numbered among the largest and wealthiest which they possessed in Italy. The duke having entrusted them exclusively with the department of public instruction, there were in each of the establishments about 400 day pupils, besides fifty or sixty boarders. They had, moreover, the control over the censorship, the duke's confessor being the president of the executive Board. In that capacity he caused (in 1829) all private libraries to be visited and examined, and ordered that all the works of poets who have not written in the spirit of the disciples of Loyola, even those of Horace, Ovid, Lucretius, and other ancient classics, should be condemned to the flames. But his dominion was not confined to that department alone; it soon extended to the aggregate administration of the whole state, with which the cruel and bigoted duke had entrusted him, to the ruin of its poor inhabitants.

In the neighbouring Parma, however, the Loyolites were not so successful. It lasted a full century before they could get a footing there. The archduchess, Maria Louise, or rather the men who governed in her name, had the merit to respect public opinion, and refused for a long time, at

the request of the population, the admission of the Jesuits into her territory. It was only in 1844, when Austria interceded in their behalf in such a manner, that she could and would not be denied the request, that the relict of Napoleon was obliged to consent to their admission. She introduced the order (20th March) in her dominions, entrusted it with the management of the grammar schools, and partially also of the higher departments of education. Not long after, various colleges made their appearance in the three towns of the state, at Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. General complaints, however, soon arose against the very system of their instruction; which induced the municipal council at Piacenza to address government (Sept. 1846), and assure it, that the college there was about to be wholly deserted by the students, if the management was not withdrawn from the Jesuits, the parents of the pupils being highly exasperated at the great depravity which prevailed in the institution.

Tuscany, ever distinguished among the Italian states for its wise and benevolent princes, was also spared until recent times the evils arising from the intrigues of the Jesuits. It was only in 1846, that the Grand

Duke Leopold II., no doubt at the importunate representations of Austria, yielded to the papal request to allow the Loyolites to settle in his dominions. He granted to only a few of them the permission to reside at Montepulciano, but he allowed the *female Jesuits*, the "sisters of the heart of Jesus," to open a school at Pisa. Almost simultaneously with the order of the Jesuits, was founded by Isabella Rosella, of Barcelona, the order of the *female Jesuits*, which soon spread and progressed, especially in Flanders, and other places in the north, until pope Urban III. thought fit to abolish it in 1631 for the many abuses and disorders that prevailed in it. Although some of these religious sisters were afterwards still found in the Netherlands, at Cologne, Vienna, and other places, the formal re-introduction of the order only took place in the beginning of the present century by Paccanari, and after him by pater Varin. In honour of the (dissolved) order of Jesus, which had for some time adopted the emblem of "devotion to the holy heart of Jesus," Varin gave that name to a female congregation which he founded at Paris. Magdalen Sophia Barat was the first head (general) of the female society "of the holy heart of Jesus." The chief task and endeavour

of that society is to become intrusted with the education of the young ladies among the higher classes, in the same manner as the Jesuits try to lay hold of the minds of young gentlemen of wealthy parents and expectations. They stand in close connection with the Jesuits, whose laws they have adopted since 1823, and have formed various extensive ramifications, particularly in France, where, like the latter, they are distinguished for deception, hypocrisy, ambition, and intrigues.

For the influential position which the Loyolites knew how to acquire in France during the Restoration, they were chiefly indebted to the female members of "the holy heart of Jesus," who belonged to the most notable and eminent families of the kingdom. Many favours which would never have been granted to the male Jesuits, were willingly accorded to the female Jesuits. The sisters of "the holy heart of Jesus" must, by the bye, not be confounded with those of "the good Shepherd," another branch-society of female Jesuits equally founded in France, for the purpose of instructing the daughters of the lower classes, as the former were for those of the higher classes. The "sisters of the good Shepherd" professed, more-

over, to reform and reclaim girls of irregular life, under which profession they had gained access even in some parts of Germany, but more especially in Bavaria, Switzerland, and Italy; but while the "brethren or fathers of ignorance" formed as it were the tail of the Jesuits, the sisters of the "holy heart of Jesus" frequently formed, on the contrary, their heralds and harbingers. This fact was so notorious, that nearly all classes of society at Pisa, headed by the Faculty of the university, protested against their admission in such energetic terms, that their abode there lasted but a very short period.

Also the Duchy of Lucca was happy enough to be spared the presence of the Jesuits. It was indebted for this advantage to the peculiar temper of its prince, Charles Louis of Bourbon, who having on his frequent travels in Germany become partial to the mystic Protestantism of Jacob Böhm, had secretly become a convert to the creed, and was naturally no friend of the disciples of Loyola. It is a remarkable fact, and may not be out of place here to mention, that the people of Lucca had always entertained the most unconquerable antipathy against the order, in consequence of which the Jesuits never succeeded in

gaining a firm footing in that Duchy, despite their repeated attempts ever since 1581, when the fathers or heads of the Republic (Lucca was one, from 1450—1805) declared “that the order had already, during the short time of its existence, shown great similarity with the hedgehog, which draws everything to itself wherever it is allowed to settle; that whoever has its members for his neighbours, is no longer master of his own house; and that, despite their hypocrisy, all they think about is, to eat and drink well, and play everywhere the sovereign lords.” They (the heads of the Republic) consequently opposed the plan of the Loyolites so energetically, that the latter were obliged to yield to circumstances, and delay the execution of their scheme until more favourable times. These appeared to have arrived for them in the years 1624, 1651, and 1660, when their request to settle in the Duchy was powerfully supported by the popes of those times. The Republic, however, remained firm, and would listen to no representations. To the peculiar remonstrance of pope Alexander VII. (February 1660), who extolled to the Republic the vast merits of the Jesuits, especially in point of national education, the heads of the Republic replied that, “accord-

ing to their belief, the order is deficient in efficient teachers, far more so than is generally supposed. Granted, however," they continued, "that such is not the case, and that the order was a Croesus in the possession of eminent professors, it would never counterbalance the disadvantages which might accrue to the Republic, by the mischievous propensity peculiar to the Jesuits of meddling with politics." To put a stop to all further attempts of the Jesuits, a law was enacted at Lucca (15th November 1660), threatening to punish as a perjurer any one of the citizens of the Republic who should henceforth venture to agitate the question about the admission of the members of the order, without the consent of seven-eighths of the members of government. How superior in political wisdom to all Catholic, and even not few Protestant governments of the present day, did not the governments of that petty Republic show themselves already, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries! How far did they not exceed in the correct estimate of the character of the Loyolites and their venomous influence upon society, the so boasted far-sighted judgment of our present statesmen!

THE ORDER IN THE AUSTRIAN
DOMINIONS,

*Under its proper name, as also of that of the
Ligorians.*

IN the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the Loyolites succeeded but slowly in acquiring admission. Verona was the first to see within her walls a colony of the order. It was indebted for the boon to the bishop Grasser, and chiefly to the very wealthy abbate Albertini, who possessed a large estate in Lombardy, and was the owner of the previous Jesuit college at Verona. Both had for three years been unremitting in their exertions to obviate the obstacles against the admission of the pious fathers. Neither is it probable that they would have succeeded in their endeavours, if Albertini had not threatened the citizens to withdraw the 100,000 florins, with which he intended to endow a Jesuit college, and rather apply the sum for a similar purpose in some place abroad. Pater Ferari, previously provincial at Naples, was appointed president of the first Jesuit college, opened in Lombardy in

1837. A few years afterwards (1842) the fathers established colleges also at Cremona and Brescia, and in 1844 they regained their old house at Venice. In the metropolis of Austria, the Loyolites gained access much sooner than in her Italian dominions. A portion of the Jesuits who had been expelled from Russia by the emperor Alexander, had repaired to Vienna, where they met with the most hospitable reception. Already at the time of the Congress of Vienna, immediately after their repristination by Pius VII., the Loyolites endeavoured to gain access to that monarchy. Their warmest advocate with emperor Francis I., was the archbishop of Vienna, Count Sigmund Anton of Hohenwart, an old member of the order and previously tutor of the monarch.* Despite his generally great influence upon his former pupil, all his efforts in favour of the Jesuits remained fruitless. Metternich, as he had at that period (1814-1815)

* At the age of sixteen he entered (1746) the old society of Jesus, flourished as professor in their colleges at Grätz, Laibach, Trieste, and Judenburg, and became shortly before the abolition of the order by Clemens XIV., president of one of the most important colleges in the North, at Linz. After the abolition of the order, he was appointed tutor (1778) to Francis, who promoted him in 1803 to the above high dignity.

not as yet belonged to the pious and religious ranks, could not possibly become reconciled to an order which had previously proved a curse to the country by their mischievous schemes. In one of the private audiences which the archbishop had of Francis I., the former turned the conversation to his favourite subject, the Jesuits; but the monarch cut him short by saying, "Let us rather talk of something else."

Shortly after (10th November 1816), Francis celebrated his fourth nuptial with Caroline Augusta, second daughter of Maximilian Joseph I., king of Bavaria. She had been married by the command of Napoleon, at the age of seventeen, in June 1806, to the present king of Würtemberg, at that time heir presumptive to the throne. There having been no personal attachment in the conventional marriage, they had both agreed to live separate. After the fall of Napoleon, the princess succeeded in obtaining from the pope a formal divorce from the prince, having taken her oath that the marriage had never been consummated. After her marriage with the emperor Francis, she did her best to persuade the emperor to comply with the pope's request, and admit the Jesuits.

into Austria; but, as Metternich and other statesmen were energetically opposed to it, a compromise was effected, and they were admitted under the name *Ligorians*.

Alfonsa Maria, of the old aristocratic Neapolitan race of the Liguori, whose beatification by Gregory XVI. was mentioned in the foregoing pages, had founded in 1752 a new spiritual order, to whom he strongly recommended, in his famous statutes, to follow and imitate closely the example and virtues of Jesus Christ (the Redeemer). He consequently enjoined the members to teach the lower classes the word of God, and reform their rough minds by spiritual instruction, catechisms, pious exercises, and missions. Pope Benedict XIV. confirmed the new order in 1749, under the name "Congregation of the most holy Redeemer," the members having already then styled themselves *Redemptorists*; and it was his intention to use them as a new and vigorous order acting upon the lower classes for the benefit and increase of his own power and influence among the masses. For his merits of the Catholic Church, Liguori was rewarded by Clemens XIII. (1762) by his elevation to the bishopric of Saint Agate de Goti in the

kingdom of Naples, where he also enjoyed the friendship of the Jesuits, there being a perfect harmony in the aim, object, laws and statutes of the two orders. Liguori, like Ignatius, demanded blind and implicit obedience from the members of his order ; * taught, that the will of the pope must be respected and considered as the will of God ; neither was his moral system less loose and elastic than that of Ignatius. Liguori, too, turned ethics, religion and morals into the most perverted systems of casuistry ; adopted, nay, even enlarged upon the Jesuitical doctrine *Probabilism* † by explaining, that one's own opinion is sufficient to render his action right and just, though it may be condemned by the whole world. At the time of the abolition of the order of Jesus in 1773, many members had therefore no hesitation to enter the Liguori order, or the *Redemptorists*, which served as an excellent substitute for the abolished one, until the latter was again restored in 1814. Since then the Redemptorist order was amalgamated

* Quod nihil voluntatis propriæ habeant, sed tota in eorum manu deposita qui illos gubernant.—*Zschokke*, pp. 148, 150.

† The Jesuits only justify an action when some probable authority may be found in its favour, though by only *one* reverend father, in opposition to all others.

with, or rather absorbed in the Jesuitical, the general of the latter being recognised also as chief by the former. It was, however, considered prudent and political to keep, apparently, the two orders distinct and separate, at the side of each other, as the Redemptorists did not, like the Jesuits, stand in so bad repute among the people at large, and under which milder name many of the latter really succeeded in insinuating themselves into those countries where the greatest reluctance had prevailed against them.

Neither were they mistaken in their speculation. Emperor Francis I., who could not make up his mind to brave public opinion and the counsel of his statesmen, to admit the Jesuits under their real name, was persuaded to do so under their feigned name, the *Ligorians*, sincerely believing that they were two different orders, who had nothing in common beyond spiritual devotion and discipline. A certain *Hoffbauer*, who had entered (1781) the congregation of the *Redemptorists*, and become afterwards their vicar-general in the states beyond Italy, had in 1809 settled in Vienna, where he spared no efforts to introduce the order in Austria. He did not, however, live to see the accomplishment of his wishes, he

having died 15th March 1820, five weeks before the issue of an imperial decree, granting to the Ligorians, or, as they best liked to style themselves, the priests of the "congregation of the Redeemer," the Passau court of Vienna, together with the adjacent very old church *Maria-Stiegen*. The explanation given by the court of Vienna for that step, that the Ligorians had been called into the metropolis for the simple purpose of promoting the spiritual welfare of the population, and that their sphere of operation had been strictly limited to the education of the youth, was far from satisfying the minds of the people, and of even a portion of the clergy. Not only was it soon discovered who they really were, but a government-rescript to the magistracy of the metropolis (29th November 1820), signifying that the Ligorians were to be henceforth in possession of the unlimited control over all concerns belonging to religion and education, soon opened the eyes of the people as to the real character of the new arrivals, by which a direct lie was given to the previous explanation given by the Imperial Court. Various attempts were therefore made to expel the Ligorians from Vienna, apparently with the tacit consent of Metternich, since in an article of a semi-official cha-

racter, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (13th August 1822), it is said that "the Jesuits, under the name Redemptorists, who had begun to establish themselves at Vienna, are about to leave the metropolis and the empire altogether; one of the greatest and influential statesmen there, having given his countenance to their removal, by which he has given new proofs of the great interest he takes in the true education and enlightenment of the people." There can be no doubt, that such a measure was really in contemplation by the Austrian government, but which the fathers and their adherents knew well how to frustrate in right time.

It is curious to see how these masked Jesuits continued to acquire land, wealth, power and influence in the metropolis of Austria, despite the disposition of its jovial and merry inhabitants, who are but little given to bigotry, despite the numerous *bon-mots*, witty satires and sarcasms, with which they (the Jesuits) were continually persecuted, and despite the contempt with which they were met by everybody high and low. Their meekness and impudence, their perseverance and importunateness, were equally great. Keeping only one object in view, they bore patiently

every humiliation and persecution, not unlike the donkey, who is unmindful of the lashes with which he is treated when busy with eating across the fence the thistles of the neighbouring proprietor. They strove zealously for situations as tutors in high families, as also for the privilege of confessing criminals on the scaffold—a right which hitherto belonged to the Capuchine monks alone. They were not unsuccessful in their labours; they could soon boast of being intrusted with the education of a considerable number of high-born youths, though some unpleasant rumours were abroad about the conduct of the pupils in one of their private boarding-schools, an establishment managed by a Protestant clergyman in their service. It was ascertained, that many of the young gentlemen, chiefly belonging to high Polish and Italian families, were much given to certain secret vices, and that the sons of counts and other high noblemen who had shown themselves a pattern of religious discipline, devotion and prayers, were in the habit of stealing from their schoolfellows watches, chains, and other jewellery, the value of which they squandered away in brothels and other dens of vice and prostitution.*

* Schuselka "Der Jesuitenkrieg, etc.," p. 302.

With unparalleled effrontery, the Ligorians forced themselves into sick and dying chambers, against the will of the patients and their families, a circumstance which soon raised the suspicion that their object was merely the obtaining a legacy for the church or themselves. They principally laid siege to rich old widows and influential ladies, while the fair sex generally formed one of their principal objects of speculation, intrigues, and machinations, and not without brilliant success. Their church soon became the *rendezvous* of all pious females, and even elegant ladies of the higher classes gradually began to attend their masses and sermons, and to ease their own hearts and conscience in the confessionals, being powerfully attracted by the eloquence, philanthropy, and wisdom of the *manly* and *handsome* paters. Neither were they in want of baits for the stronger sex. Their sermons, and more especially those of John Emanuel Veith,* attracted the attendance of even the enlightened portion of the public, though few could relish the strictures made by him on the

* He was by birth a Jew, had studied medicine, afterwards theology, and entered at last (1823) the order of the Ligorians.

works of their best poets, such as Schiller, Goethe, &c., which were stigmatised as "inventions of the devil." The same *Veith*, however, thought it proper in 1830 to quit the order, and accept the canonry at St. Stephen's church in Vienna, since which time he was so bitterly annoyed and persecuted by the members of the order, that he was obliged to relinquish the living.

Neither did they lose sight of the Press, the usual organ of public opinion. In 1828 they obtained the permission to establish a "congregational Press," and the country soon became deluged with their religious tracts. Their prior, pater Anton Passy,* was the editor of a vast collection of religious poems, while by his peculiar talent in book speculations, the congregational Press became one of the most flourishing in the country. Passy was upon the whole a talented and very adroit disciple of Loyola, who, despite his extreme fanaticism, was distinguished for his affable behaviour, deep knowledge of the human heart, and a vein of original humour. The paters

* He was born at Vienna 31st March, 1783, and committed suicide in 1846, having been, it was said, implicated in the Gallician insurrection.

were indebted to him, to the Empress Augusta, and to the pious Count Cudenhofen (who became afterwards a member of their order). for the permission which Francis I., notwithstanding the most lively remonstrances from many quarters, and even from the police, accorded them in 1830 to erect a convent at Rennweg, one of the suburbs of Vienna. Thus was renewed here the custom of the Middle Ages, when to every male order was attached a similar female one, the cloister and convent being usually built in the same square opposite each other, and joined by subterraneous passages. A few old widows of fortune having taken the veil and become tenants of the new building, their property was naturally bequeathed to the institution, and their example was soon followed by other individuals of all ages and stations in life. The fathers having given to the institution the name *Penitentiary*, it became the receptacle of gay women and prostitutes, whom the fathers proposed to reclaim to society. Vienna was indeed then notorious for debauchery, loose manners, and immoral life, and no wonder that such an institution, with such an avowed object in view, found praise in the eyes of the more steady and moral part of the community; but

whether the pious fathers were just the men to effect the purpose, is a different question. It is true, that a certain Countess D— became president of this Magdalen establishment, but her own previous life was anything but regular and virtuous. It is at all events beyond all doubt, that no perceptible reform became obvious in the life of the fair sex, and more especially of the servants and nurserymaids of Vienna, ever since the paters had been intrusted with the task. By such and similar means, the pious fathers succeeded in acquiring in a comparatively short space of time a considerable influence among the two extremes of society, the highest and the lowest. The middle classes, it is true, generally evinced contempt and hatred for them, but they had gained friends among the higher and educated classes, and, as is generally the case, the lower classes were not slow in imitating their betters. All the servants of both sexes, whose confessors they were, the fathers employed as secret spies, from whom they frequently learnt the most secret affairs of their masters and mistresses. To like and similar purposes they also employed the *filles perdues* among the higher and lower classes, by bribes of absolution and spiritual

blessings, and ~~even~~, if necessary, by money and other presents of a material nature.

Neither did ~~the~~ Ligorians understand less the mercantile art of making money by way of interest. The millions which they had accumulated within the short space of ten years, were not merely the fruit of begging, presents, and legacies, but also of usury and finance operations on the Exchange, which they carried on with a tact and judgment worthy of our Barings and Rothschilds.

With the increase of wealth and influence among the aristocracy, they at last gained also the good wishes and patronage of Austria's real regent, Prince Metternich. It is true, that to some extent, also, female influence* acted upon the mind of the chancellor of the empire, as it did upon its nominal ruler, Francis, and after him Ferdinand I.; that influence was, however, not strong enough to produce such a change in his mind, which must rather be sought in truly political motives, by which alone he could be induced to court the friendship rather than provoke the enmity of the Jesuits. In the political system

* Metternich's third wife was the Countess Melanie Zichy, a friend of the Jesuits.

adopted by that statesman, it is well known what an important part the priests played in Italy, by the assistance they gave, to extinguish the flame of rebellion among the masses on the one hand, and to fan the spirit of jealousy among the Italian princes on the other. It is further known, that Austria's moral rule in Italy is absolutely founded on the absence of all reforms and innovations in the existing order of things, and that it was only the crafty Jesuits alone who could be employed for the accomplishment of such a difficult task. It was they, indeed, who bridged over and preserved, more especially during the pontificate of Gregory XVI., the sovereign power of Metternich at Rome, Turin, and Naples. This was the price at which the states chancellor had no doubt granted them his favour and patronage, while the co-operation of the Loyolites in the process of enslaving Italy, was probably the strongest bond that chained Metternich to the disciples of Ignatius. Gioberti's* bitter complaints of the Jesuits in Austria, on whose coalition, he says, the subjection of the Peninsula depends, sets the question at rest, if any doubt is still entertained on the subject.

* *Il Gesuita moderno*, III.

Neither must we omit to mention, that Metternich had attached to the favours which he granted to the Loyolites in so liberal a manner soon after his third marriage (30th January, 1831) conditions by which he thought to render them harmless to the country. He enjoined the members, among others, not to accept legacies, donations, and endowments, nor to receive novices and missionaries from abroad, without first acquainting Government with the facts, and requesting its sanction to the same ; nor should they even be permitted to introduce new school books, or even teachers, without previous consent of the state. The Austrian Jesuits, moreover, engaged themselves to limit their connection with their general at Rome simply to matters concerning the internal affairs of the order, and also not to allow any of their professors to purchase lands in the realm, &c. &c. All these conditions the Jesuits would in any other country have rejected with indignation ; in Austria, however, they willingly subscribed to them, aware that it would not be difficult to violate them with impunity ; while Metternich plainly showed, on the other hand, by his ready belief in the efficacy of such restrictions, how little he knew of the spirit of the order, of

the impossibility to render it less injurious to the state by bulwarks of paper, or to be guarded against their poisonous attacks, wherever they are allowed to come into close contact with society.

In the same year in which the sons of St. Ignatius made their entrance into the metropolis of Austria, they settled likewise in the eastern province of the realm, in Galicia, where they were joined by a portion of their colleagues who had been expelled from Russia, and where they at once settled under their real name, *Jesuits*. The Gallicians, like the Poles, entertained no prejudice against the Jesuits, who in consequence thought it unnecessary to appear in disguise. Emperor Francis I. transferred to them (August 1820) the Dominican cloister at Tarnopol, to be converted into a college, and allowed each of the fifty fathers who entered it, an annual pension of 300 florins. Shortly afterwards, he delivered to them also the high-school of the place, where they subsequently built, at their own cost, also a philosophical institution, besides boarding-schools and other establishments of education. All these establishments and institutions formed the principal colony of the Jesuits in Galicia, and which soon flourished to a consider-

able extent. Already in 1822 the high-school at Tarnopol counted above 400 (in 1841, however, only 336), and the philosophical institution 141 students. It is related of pater Dunin, one of the professors there, that he used to the end of his life (1838), to go about from house to house and beg alms for the support of the poor students in his department. Besides the above establishments, they also founded a college at Prezemyśl, another at New-Sandecz, with a high-school attached to it, as also one for the children of the nobility in the capital, Lemberg, besides many religious and missionary establishments at Mylatin, Staravies, and other places. From Government they obtained in return for the new institutions founded by them, an annual contribution of 20,000 florins, in addition to the large revenues from the estates at Viniki (which possesses one of the largest tobacco manufactories in the monarchy), for the support of the establishment at Lemberg. The Gallician Jesuits were also in many other respects in the enjoyment of particular favours and rights above those in any other part of the empire. They were not only exempt from the aforementioned restrictions stipulated by Metternich, but they were also

at liberty to receive in their colleges students who had been expelled from the imperial university on account of idleness or inaptitude, and of which privilege they availed themselves to an immoderate extent. The step naturally generated bitter feelings between the two opposite institutions, and has probably not a little contributed to lower the literary respect of the pious fathers in the eyes of the public. The almost extravagant rights awarded by Metternich to the Gallician Jesuits, led to the suspicion that the chancellor intended to weaken by their aid the popular agitation and aristocratic influence in that country. Recent events have however shown the inefficiency of the measures, which were of a too startling and curious nature not to render their motives plain and obvious. There were but few among the Polish nobility who paid homage to the Loyolites; their influence, indeed, was chiefly confined to the dregs of society, and more particularly to women who stood in need of mild and indulgent confessors. On the other hand, the movements of the Jesuits in Galicia proved a great check to the Russian intrigues there. The clergy, or *popes* as they are called, of the United Greek Church, which numbers, in this part of former

Poland, not fewer votaries than does the Roman Catholic Church, had suffered a great deal by the increasing influence of the Jesuits, who, to insinuate themselves also into the good graces of the Greek inhabitants, performed gratis amongst them the ceremonies of marriage, christenings, and other clerical duties, which usually formed a portion of the church revenue there. The Greek clergy thus provoked, addressed the Russian Court on the subject, made common cause with it, and assisted it in its movements to agitate the country in the name of the *holy church and orthodox religion*.

At a somewhat later period, the Loyolites ventured to appear on the political stage also in Hungary, where Klobuszycki, archbishop of Kalocza (himself once a Jesuit) spared no efforts to procure them rights and favours. Their first settlement was at Presburg; but their whole existence in Hungary remained illegal for want of the requisite formal sanction of the states. The pious fathers had indeed frequently, and more especially in 1840, petitioned the Diet on the subject; but although their request had been warmly supported by Government, it was always negatived by the majority of the Diet,

among whom were most of the bishops, members of the states.

It soon became evident that the people at large, and even the clergy of German Austria, evinced great repugnance towards the disciples of Loyola, and the Austrian Government thought it therefore prudent to introduce them also there, under the milder name of *Redemptorists*. Their great patron, the prince-bishop of Sekau, Zängerle, transferred to them as Redemptorists, towards the close of 1826, the parsonage at Fronleiten, in the parish of Grätz, and afterwards (1834) that at Marburg, as also the former Franciscan cloister at Mautern, without meeting with any serious opposition to the grants. When Zängerle, however, ventured in the spring of 1829 to invite four fathers from Galicia, for the purpose of settling them as *Jesuits* in the country, he met with remonstrances from many quarters. He had made to the fathers on their arrival a present of the college of the Piarists,* at Gleisdorf, which had been abandoned by the latter since 1824. No sooner, however, had the Jesuits

* Or fathers of the pious schools (*scholarum piarum*), a religious order founded at Rome by a Spanish nobleman Casalanza, in 1621, for the special purpose of national education.

taken possession of the building, than it was reclaimed by the Piarists, who compelled the fathers to quit it in less than five months. Thence they removed to private lodgings, near the lake at Grätz, in which house an actress of that place was also tenanted. The pious fathers, accustomed to female society, were far from objecting to her proximity, and she even proved a useful instrument in their hands to promote their influence among her acquaintances. The citizens of Grätz, however, were so prejudiced against the Jesuits, that they would not tolerate them within the precincts of the town, and the paters were thus obliged to occupy the same suburban lodgings for nearly three years, until father Streger succeeded by his oratorical powers to render himself popular as a preacher, and remove, or at least weaken in some measure, the preconceived antipathy of the inhabitants to the Jesuits. The Government then hesitated no longer to transfer to the order, in 1832, the Dominican cloister on the Münzgraben, but without the lands belonging to it, as their support was to be defrayed by the education fund. In the same year (1832) the paters were introduced into the Archduchy Austria, under the

name Redemptorists, where they established their first settlement in the former Franciscan cloister. As *Jesuits* they appeared only in 1836 at Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, where the Archduke Maximilian of Este erected for them an excellent settlement, close to the town. He converted one of the best fortress-towers there into a rural mansion, built a church close to it, and added besides lands and rents sufficient for the support of the thirty paters, who had removed to that charming place on the 10th August, 1839. The inhabitants of Linz were, however, far from sharing the partiality of the prince, their repugnance towards the Jesuits having increased rather than diminished on further acquaintance with them. When we consider for what purposes the servants were employed at Vienna by the Jesuits, it cannot be wondered that the inhabitants of Linz should have taken the precaution to stipulate with their servants, on engaging them, not to go to confession to the Jesuits.

About the same time, the Jesuits also succeeded in settling in the Tyrol under their real name, to the indignation of the people, and even clergy, who in other respects are notorious for bigotry and fanaticism.

Even the prince Bishop of Trient had at an earlier date declared, "he had no need of the Loyolites, as the existing clergy were efficient, and sufficient for the spiritual necessities of his people."

A very great mediator for the trans-settlement of the Jesuits into this Alpine country was Joseph, baron Giovanelli, who, after having in his earlier days profusely sacrificed at the shrines of quite different deities, had in his later days turned devout, and conceived a great predilection for the society of Jesus, especially after their great success and extended influence at Vienna. He was for a long time watching for a proper opportunity, to satisfy the ardent wishes of the order to settle in Tyrol, which opportunity he at last found in the year 1838. The professors and members of the *Premonstration order** in the bishopric Wilten, disgusted with the mismanagement of the restored Theresa Institution at Inspruck,† thought proper to resign their functions.

* An ecclesiastical order founded in 1120 by a certain Robert Danton, at Lecon, in France, at the revelation of God, as he said, upon a certain meadow (*prémontré, pratum monstratum*), hence the name.

† It was founded by Maria Theresa, for the education of the youths of the nobility.

Count Frederic Willczeck, governor of the province, being rather at a loss how to replace them, Giovanelli at once proposed to him the Loyolites. Though the count readily assented to the proposal, he anticipated nevertheless serious opposition from various quarters against the execution of the plan, and particularly from the professors of the Inspruck University, who for the most part were clergymen. To render the expected opposition ineffectual, it was resolved to represent the appointment of the Jesuits as being made in compliance with the general wish of the people, while the representatives of the Tyrolian Diet were persuaded by Giovanelli to express as much in their decision, and request consequently the imperial assent to the resolution. Two of the most important ecclesiastical members of the Diet of 1838, had already previously been instructed from Rome, stoutly to support Giovanelli's godly efforts, while the lay members were obliged to assent to the motion from fear of being branded as heretics by the pope. The decree which was to be presented for sanction to the throne required: that both the Theresa-Academy and the University at Inspruck should be tranferred to the Loyolites. On the 17th

October, 1838, the sanction from the throne arrived, by which the Theresa Academy was to be given up to the Jesuits immediately, and the University only gradually. Already before the close of the year (24th Dec.) five fathers with their superior, *Lange*, appeared in the capital of Tyrol, where they undertook (13th Jan. 1839) the conduct and management of the afore-mentioned institutions, and took possession also of the church formerly built by themselves.

The Jesuits now endeavoured to get entire possession also of the university at Inspruck, or at least to exercise unlimited control over it. They began with complaining, that the room in their own college was not spacious enough for the students, whose number was daily on the increase. Their patron Giovanelli thereupon prevailed upon the committee of the noble states to report to the provincial government, and request it to let a part of the university building to the Jesuits. Count Willczeck, though no enemy of the latter, still thought it prudent to decline interfering in the matter, while the education commission of the supreme court at Vienna flatly rejected the Report. Having failed in this plan, another was projected, purporting to create a rival institution to the Uni-

versity by the establishment of a boarding-school (convictorium) on a grand scale, for the education of the children of the nobility. It was again Giovannelli who was intrusted with the petition to the Diet (May, 1841). No sooner, however, had he proposed to levy a regular tax on the landed property of the province, to defray the expenses of the projected establishment, than he was left in a great minority on the question. It met with the same fate also at Vienna, government not being inclined to order a new tax for that special purpose, though it had no objection to the erection of the establishment by any other means, save the public treasury.

Nothing, therefore, was left to the *poor* disciples of Loyola but to procure the means by voluntary contributions from the wealthy Tyrolians. A committee was in consequence formed (May, 1842) under the auspices of the prince bishops of Trient and Brixen, to receive contributions for the charitable undertaking. In the introductory part of the circular, mention was made of the efforts to preserve the Catholic confession in Tyrol from the erroneous doctrines which had begun to taint the true religion in other parts of Europe, ever since the middle of the

sixteenth century, while the merit of having preserved it in that manner, was therein ascribed to the indefatigable labours of the Jesuits, who, happily for the country, have again made their appearance in this part of the orthodox world. The committee then dwelt on the great benefits that had already resulted from their management of the Theresa Academy, and the general wish expressed by the people at large, to establish a similar institution for the benefit of the youth of all *classes of society*, &c., &c., &c. The sum collected in this way was, however, so small, that recourse was had to loans, and these even were barely sufficient to cover one fourth of the necessary outlay. The papal nuncio at the imperial court (1843) had been invited to lay the first stone of the building; his presence, however, which it was thought would rouse the charitable feelings of the public for the object in view, produced just the contrary effect. The civic guard at Inspruck, who had been summoned to form the guard of honour for the high dignitary of the church, refused to comply, and before the papal ambassador had, in company with the prince Bishop of Brixen, entered the splendid tent erected for them, Baron Giovanni (who, by the bye,

did not figure with a single groat in the afore-named subscription list), and Count Reisach, were received by the assembled crowd with loud hisses. All the efforts of the fathers to rouse the interest of the Tyrolians in behalf of the new institution proved fruitless, and it became evident that the people were far from wishing to intrust the Jesuits with the education of their children. After many manœuvres, the building was at last finished in 1844; but though it contained rooms for 300 pupils, there was, in 1846, only one pupil in it.

This resolute antipathy of a people so thoroughly catholic, bigoted, isolated, and excluded from all contact with the protestant world and literature, was solely the result of experience, which the Tyrolians had made of the character and proceedings of the Jesuits during the short time of their new residence amongst them. The Inspruck University, previously the best educational establishment in the land, as also the Theresa institution, had undeniably retrogressed in the few years they had been managed by the Loyolites. The pupils had *decreased* in learning and *increased* in moral corruption. Many families were therefore obliged either to keep tutors at home, or

to send their children to the college or hall, an institution of which the paters had vainly tried to become the managers. Neither were many parents more satisfied with the extravagant bills sent to them by the conductors of the Theresa Academy for additional and extra expenses of their children, which frequently amounted from 200 to 300 florins. Nor were the attempts of the paters at gaining the good opinion of the weaker sex less conspicuous in Tyrol than elsewhere. They threw the torch of discord into the domestic circles of happy couples, they rendered the women dissatisfied with their lot, and persuaded them to renounce connubial connections and domestic life, and rather seek spiritual bliss in the solitude of the convent. Great complaints were also made against them, for alluring girls to confession. They questioned them in the confessional on things which could but make them blush, though they exacted from them a promise never to marry, in order, no doubt, to have the control over every farthing the silly creatures were in possession of. Obtaining legacies by foul means was another sort of grievance brought against them. An old spinster living in rural retirement and simplicity at Kaltern,

had been persuaded to bequeath to the Jesuits a legacy of vineyards and houses amounting to 35,000 florins. The reasons assigned in the will for that legacy, as also some other clauses in it, were of such a character as to produce suspicion in the minds of the judges at Vienna, that unfair means had been employed to induce the old simpleton to the step; and, among others, that it was done to expiate the sin committed by her father in having purchased an estate which had formerly belonged to the bishopric Tegern; in addition, the testatrix named the pope as the highest judge on the validity of her instructions in the will. Many other instances of the covetous and selfish habits of the Loyolites were not calculated to diminish the bad odour in which they stood with the public. It was thus a notorious fact, that they were levying contributions for the maintenance of their missionaries at home and abroad from the poor labourers, female servants, and even children; that, in short, every pretence had been used to fill the purses of the pious fathers with the hard earnings of the poorer classes.

No wonder, then, that the eyes of even the bigoted Tyrolians should at last have become opened to the

real character of the Jesuits, and that their dislike of them should have increased from day to day. It was at Inspruck in particular, where the great manifestation to that effect took place in March, 1844. Count Clemens of Brandis, successor of Willczeck (1841), as governor of the province, had ordered that scientific evening meetings should, according to custom, be held during the winter season (1843-1844), in the Ferdinand institution, the name of the society of arts, sciences, and literature, in the place. One of the subjects brought under discussion in the meeting, was a paper on the history of Tyrol, by Pater Albert Yäger, late professor at the college at Meran. As an impartial historian, he could not help sketching the mischievous operations of the Jesuits in Tyrol during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He showed, that the period from 1567—1767, when the Loyolites ruled in the land, was one of the saddest and most disgraceful in the pages of her history; and that the Tyrolians had in those days sunk into the deepest abyss of depravity and immorality. Yäger's essay produced the more effect, as his language was eloquent and temperate, and his arguments well supported by undeniable facts. The essay was

spoken of in the highest terms by all classes of society. Yäger was saluted everywhere as the man who had dared to speak the truth in plain open language, while his name was drunk at every party with the most cheering enthusiasm, as the hero of historical truth and revealer of great facts. The numerous complaints made by the Jesuits and their friends on that score, induced Count Brandis, as president of the society, to forbid further discussions on historical subjects; but public opinion had become so strong against the Jesuits (there were about eighty in the place), that the latter found in it more subject for regret than even in the essay of the historian. Their endeavours to get hold of the manuscript, and the attempt of one of the fathers even to break open the desk where it had been locked up, so irritated the public, that the fathers thought it prudent to remove the culprit from the place. The rumour of the attempted theft had in the meanwhile reached the metropolis, and Government at last issued an order to the governor of Tyrol, to keep a watchful eye on the steps of the Jesuits, and not to allow them too much latitude in the province.

THE INTRIGUES AND ATTEMPTS OF THE JESUITS IN THE REST OF GERMANY.

Their Settlement in Anhalt-Köthen and Bavaria.

IN the other parts of Germany, the order found access much earlier in the countries where either the people or their princes professed the Protestant religion, than in those states where both the monarch and the subjects belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. The phenomenon may in some measure be explained by the progress which *Pietism*, the twin-brother of Jesuitism, had made at that time at many evangelical courts in Germany. In the untiring efforts of the German princes to reduce their subjects to passive obedience, by withholding from them liberty of conscience, and the freedom of thinking for themselves, even the doctrines and teachings of the Jesuits were considered proper means by which implicit obedience might be enforced, and thinking generally checked. Many princes, it is true, as members of the Protestant Church, held in abhorrence the pope, the Jesuits,

and their church, but they did not withall scruple to employ Beelzebub to expel Satan, so long as it answered the object in view. Neither would the Loyolites have dared to find their way, since 1824, into Catholic Prussia, into Cologne, Düsseldorf, Coblenz, and other places of the Rhenish provinces, if Frederic William III., King of Prussia, had not as a true *Pietist* winked at their sly movements. At Düsseldorf, the good fathers were even allowed to re-take possession of a part of their old college, though the pious monarch could not help disapproving of the custom of sending young men from Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces to finish their studies in the Jesuit colleges abroad. His reluctance to that step arose from fear of casting thereby a slur upon the efficiency of the schools at home, rather than of seeing the pupils imbibe erroneous principles and doctrines in religion. He allowed, like Frederic the Great, every one of his subjects to go to heaven in the best way he thought proper, while on earth there was but one narrow path for his subjects to walk — implicit obedience to the will of the sovereign. In this spirit he issued a decree (13th July, 1827) prohibiting the

youth of his realm to frequent the Jesuit colleges abroad, and particularly in countries, the homes of revolutionary movements.

The prohibitory edict was chiefly directed against the German college at Rome, which Pius VII. had restored in 1817 for the purpose of planting in Germany a new race of true orthodox (Catholic) inhabitants, the religious principles of the old existing race having become, he thought, rather modified by the wars and a contact with the impious enlightened nations of the French empire. That college had already been frequented by a considerable number of Prussian students, some of whom, on their return, had not failed to give practical examples of the doctrines and fanaticism they had imbibed at college. Jacob Fontana, the first pupil of the restored college, had as coadjutor of the curate at Bern, in the years 1823 and 1824, so outrageously attacked the "abomination" of mixed marriages, that the local government was under the necessity of removing him from the town and the canton. The German college at Rome had, moreover, assumed the nature of the Pandora-box for Germany. Many of those individuals who had played in the religious agitations of

Germany an unhappily important part, had received their education in that school, where patriotism, toleration, and philanthropy are reckoned frail human foibles. Of the one hundred and twenty-five priests who have, in the twenty years from 1822 to 1842, been educated there for Germany (besides sixty-four for Switzerland), we will only mention two, the papal Court-prelate Count Reisach, previously Bishop of Eichstädt, and now Archbishop of Munich-Freising, and Anton Stahl, Bishop of Würzburg, two men who have acquired notoriety in the religious agitations of that period. In consequence of the villanous maxims which the pupils are taught in that institution, and which prove so injurious to countries of mixed confessions, even the Austrian Government has found it necessary to prohibit the youths of its dominions from frequenting that college at Rome. Similar prohibitions were afterwards also decreed in other German states, and even in Hanover (1845), though the late king and the provincial government were so little prejudiced against the Jesuits as to allow a considerable number of them to settle in the state. Bavaria, however, especially under the Abel Ministry, thought that the fears entertained by the German

governments against that college were quite illusory, and that no harm whatever could accrue to the state or the pupils from their visiting that institution. Prussian students, therefore, who had been refused passports to Rome from their own government, had only to go to Bavaria, where they were provided with the documents without much difficulty. Having finished their studies in that college at Rome, they returned to Bavaria, where some friends managed not only to procure their permission to re-enter Prussia, but even to obtain lucrative livings for them in Trier, Münster, and other Prussian dioceses.

Most aggravating for the German Protestants was the position acquired by the Jesuits in the very home of the Reformation, in Saxony, owing to the circumstance that the royal family there are members of the Catholic Church. Already, in the last years of King Frederic Augustus I. (died 1827), the great influence which a Jesuit confessor exercised upon the hoary monarch had caused no little alarm to the Protestant population of Saxony. But that jesuitical influence had still more increased under his successor. King Anton, a staunch devotionist, who had for the salvation of his soul, during an uninterrupted series

of fifty-six years, heard mass twice a day, was led by the Jesuit Gracchi, the confessor and confidant of the whole court, into measures enough to alarm even less zealous Protestants than the Saxons. Not only were unproportionally large sums of money appropriated for the education of the Catholic youths, (though the whole Catholic population there amounted at that time to no more than 25,000 souls,) but it was soon also ascertained that the monarch and the government had actually resolved to establish and endow in the suburb of Dresden a Jesuit college in due and legal form. The petitions which poured in from all parts of the kingdom, and even the remonstrances from the press against that contemplated measure, were treated by government with silent contempt, and it was only after the July revolution, whose stormy echo had also reached Saxony and encouraged the people to loud complaints against the Catholic intrigues at court, that government deigned to assure the inhabitants that there was no truth in the rumour, and that the state never had in view the establishment of such a college. At the express desire of the Diet, however, a particular clause was inserted in the constitutional charter (Sept. 1831,) to the

effect that "neither new cloisters nor Jesuits, nor any other monastic order, should henceforth be introduced in the kingdom." The clause was kept in force, and strictly acted upon for ten years. But when the Catholic clergy, in consequence of the Cologne affair, had begun to raise their head in Germany, where a reaction had taken place in their favour, the Jesuits in Saxony thought that a fit opportunity was also afforded to them to renew their previous attempts at settling in that part of Germany. Not to rouse the popular indignation all of a sudden, they began with settling at some distance from the metropolis, at Annaberg, close to the Bohemian frontier. The spot was indeed well selected. The poor dwellers of the Mine Mountains, so given to mystical piety, were well calculated to spread the influence of the fathers, who were so richly provided with pecuniary means as to dazzle the wretched population into belief and submission. Having built a church, the officers attached to it gradually arrived. Though there were hardly fifty Catholics among the 7000 inhabitants of Annaberg, Mauermann, Bishop of Rama, had no difficulty in persuading the friends of the order, that the establishment of a Jesuit church was indispensable for

the small congregation. On the 20th October, 1844, the solemn consecration of the new temple took place, and a few days afterwards a rumour spread at Annaberg that a tablet bearing a very suspicious inscription had arrived from Dresden for the church. An official examination followed, when it was found that a tablet had actually been inserted in the middle of the door leading to the niche of the altar, where relics are kept, bearing the inscription of the consecration of the church by Bishop Mauermann, in honour of St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier. It was then clearly established that the temple was not only a Catholic, but a Jesuit church, devoted exclusively to the service and worship of the saints to whom it was consecrated. And as the church could not exist without officials, the suggestion naturally forced itself even upon the simple-minded Annabergians, that the spot had been selected for the settlement of a Jesuit colony. The discovery called forth loud complaints throughout Saxony, which increased still more by the absence of all reply on the part of government to the earnest representations of the civic authorities at Annaberg on the subject. It had at the same time also been ascertained, that there actually existed Jesuit

missionaries in the capital of Saxony, though government thought it advisable to deny the fact; the circumstance soon led to popular agitations against the court and government, and to the sanguinary outbreak at Leipsic (1845), which had the effect of cooling the zeal of the patrons of the Jesuits, and retarding the projected settlement at Annaberg for some time.

The Jesuits now, as in the time after the Westphalian Peace, wandered about in all parts of Germany, under various disguises, names, and missions, for the sake of proselytism and final settlement. There is hardly a capital in purely Protestant Germany, where such individuals have not made their appearance and contrived to fix their residence. The masks, means, and ways they use for that purpose, are the same which were made use of in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The order has also, in modern times, its emissaries residing at places where universities exist, and more especially in northern and central Germany. Neither do these emissaries confine their labours of proselytism to the students and educated classes alone; they work with tolerably good effect also upon the middle and lower classes. Nor are they quite unsuccessful with the aris-

tocracy of Germany. When King Frederic William III. of Prussia married in 1824 a Catholic princess (Augusta of Harrach), the Jesuits intrigued for a long time to induce the old monarch, by her influence, to renounce the Protestant religion ; but at the moment when they were almost sure of success, the princess herself became a convert to the Protestant religion, a step by which they were naturally deprived of their very best instrument, and the plan was thus frustrated for ever.*

The altered condition in the life of the present princes, have rendered also the task of the Jesuits to effect their conversion next to impossible. Only one single German prince they were able, within the forty years since the restoration of the order by Pius VII., to convert to the Catholic religion—to make him desert the creed of his fathers ; they were assisted at his court by the same circumstances which promoted their views in the former ages. We allude to Prince Frederic Ferdinand, of Anhalt-Köthen, who had solemnised his second nuptials (May, 1816) with the Countess Julia of Brandenburg, one of the many

* *Eichman* : "The Secretary of the Legation ; or, the Cabals of the Jesuits in Germany," p. 278.

illegitimate children of Frederic William II., King of Prussia. It was owing to the efforts of the Jesuit Ronsin, that both husband and wife, during their protracted residence at Paris, were gained over to the "only saving church;" the best means he employed to effect the purpose were, it was generally believed, large advances of money made to the prodigal couple in that place. After his accession to the duchy (Jan. 1826), he showed his gratitude, or, as some will have it, he fulfilled his secret contract with the Loyolites, by making his capital Köthen the missionary seat of the pious fathers, under the presidency of Pater Beck, who instigated the prince to so many acts of impropriety and chicanery towards his Protestant subjects, that the duchy escaped the consequences of a revolution only by the timely death of the prince, which ensued in August, 1830. The existence of the mission did not, however, cease until after the death of the Catholic widow (1848), when the little duchy fell to the share of the princes of Dessau and Bernburg.

It is a remarkable fact that in Bavaria, the *El Dorado* of priestly craft and machination, the disciples of Loyola were late, much later even than

in Austria, in gaining a firm footing. Having failed in their manifold attempts to induce King Maximilian Joseph I. to grant them permission to settle in his dominions, the Loyolites petitioned his successor, soon after his accession, in 1826, to allow them to build a house at Munich; in return for which boon they engaged themselves to co-operate most vigorously for the regeneration of the Bavarian people. Though they used the precaution to present themselves also here under the milder name of Ligorians or Redemptorists, and to bring with them in addition, warm letters of recommendation from the king's sister, the Empress Caroline Augusta of Austria, the king peremptorily refused the request, saying, "that he had no need of them in Bavaria; and that, though he could not refuse them an abode there as private foreigners, their reception as a religious body was out of the question." Notwithstanding the great change that had since taken place in the character of that king, and the deplorable condition to which he nearly brought his kingdom by his depravity and *amours*, a long time elapsed before the fathers succeeded in settling in that state.

THE JESUITS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THE Ex-Jesuits, like all other refugees, had found an hospitable asylum on Britain's shores, after their expulsion from France and Belgium, by the storms of the French revolution, at the end of the last century. They soon acquired—as we have mentioned in the foregoing pages—under the name of “fathers of faith,” the large establishment at Stonyhurst. Under the protection of the association rights so liberally guaranteed by the English constitution, and favoured moreover by the gigantic struggle against Napoleon I., which had engrossed the minds of the British statesmen and the public at that period, the order had already, in 1814, at the time of its universal reconstitution by Pius VII., gained a vast sphere of operation in the United Kingdom. The English fathers, who had since 1803, by permission of the pope, joined the order, which had been restored in Russia, and reassumed their real name, Jesuits, possessed ten years afterwards, in addition to their college at Stonyhurst, about thirty stations or establishments

of more or less magnitude, such as residences, missionary houses, schools, &c. In the forty years which have since elapsed, and more especially since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, the order has made such gigantic progress in Great Britain, that it possesses now three times as many institutions, at Canterbury, Liverpool, Bristol, Dublin, and many more places, though they do not exactly bear the sign of St. Ignatius. The continual increase of the order was not, however, viewed by the English Government and aristocracy, soon after the termination of the war in 1815, with pleasing or even indifferent eyes. It formed one of the rocks on which the Catholic Emancipation Bill had been wrecked in 1822 and 1825. And even after it was carried, in 1829, clauses were inserted in the bill, tending to check the further progress of Jesuitism in England. It was enacted, among others, that thenceforth all British subjects who intended to enter an ecclesiastical order or body, or who had already done so abroad, should report the same to the local authorities of their parish, and have it duly registered; also, that all foreign monks, and more especially Jesuits, who should venture to come to England after the publication of the Act, should

be banished, and even transported for life, if they did not voluntarily quit the country within three months. The legislators, in framing the law, which they no doubt considered the most efficacious means of checking the progress of Jesuitism in the realm, have thereby shown how little they knew of the spirit of the order, or the many resources the sly sons of Loyola are in possession of, which enable them to circumvent such and similar enactments. The latter had indeed nothing else to do, but to continue the practice they had adopted since their first settlement in the island. They used to initiate new members secretly, without the performance of those ceremonies which elsewhere accompany such an act. After the termination of the probation time, the novice used to make his vows before the pater rector of the institution, when he received from him the ordination in a small oratory, or chapel, to which no stranger had access. In this way they do act to this day, and their number may accordingly vastly increase, without the public registers showing any signs of it. The British members are known to nobody except to the superiors of the order alone, so well do the fathers understand how to keep the secret invio-

late. Moreover, the strict observance of the *letter of the law*, which prevails in English courts of justice, renders legal conviction rather difficult, and helps to envelop the machinations of the Jesuits in mystical darkness. It is only by the fruit, that the operations of the order in the island are to be known. The immense progress which Catholicism is making there at present, is no doubt chiefly, if not wholly, the work of jesuitical activity.

In Ireland Jesuitism stalks abroad almost unmasked; and it has become, with its day-light assassinations and wholesale murders, almost a disgrace to civilised nations, while even England suffers under the infliction of more than one establishment of this moral pest. And what is the result? Rome triumphs over England's tendency to popery, and hails Puseyism as her best ally!

THE JESUITS IN BELGIUM.

MORE open than in England, lie before our eyes the workings of the order in Belgium. Here the pious fathers have no hesitation to show themselves in their true colours. To understand better the relations of the order in this quarter, we must remind the reader of the fact, that the Jesuits who had been expelled from Catholic Christendom after the abolition of the order in 1773, had found an asylum, protection, and a new sphere of operation also, in Protestant Holland, and more especially at Amsterdam, Nimwegen, and Eulenburg. The first use the order made of their competency after its restoration in 1814, was to mark to the Protestant Dutch, who had lodged, fed, clothed, and protected its members in time of their trouble and exile, their sense of gratitude in a most curious and characteristic manner. No sooner had they learnt that a united kingdom of the Netherlands was to be created, than they presented, through their great patron, Maurice de Broglie, bishop of Ghent, a memorial to the Vienna

Congress, which has no parallel in point of impudence and arrogance. It begun by stating, that the Roman Catholic religion is the only true and saving one; that the Lutheran and reformed confessions were mere tolerated creeds; and it finished by requesting, among other extravagant demands, that an unrestricted and independent association right should be granted to them; that the tithe-tax might be reintroduced for the benefit of their church; and that they should have the sole control over the higher education of the young, as an indispensable guarantee for the religious freedom of the Belgians, ruled as they are by a heretic prince. The education of the young by the Jesuits, it added, is not only the unanimous wish of the Belgian people, but the best, nay, only means of bringing them up to truly scientific and religious eminence. In the proud presumption, that the new monarch, William I., would not venture to refuse to his southern subjects the general wish for Jesuit teachers, they made their way at once (1814), without first obtaining permission to do so, to Belgium, under their real name, *Jesuits*. They found friends there, who advanced them money, while Count Thiennes presented them with the castle

Rumbeke for their establishments. King William I. had not only tolerated the Jesuits in Holland, but had even allowed them to apply (1818) a legacy which had been bequeathed to one of their members, Pater Huberti, to the building of a seminary at Eulenburg, as also to settle at the Hague. Neither would he have refused them to settle in Belgium, if their behaviour had not roused suspicions in the mind of that prince soon after his accession to the throne. In the new constitution which he granted to his subjects, complete liberty of conscience and equal civil rights were guaranteed to all sects in his realm—a principle that prevails in Belgium even to this day. In those provinces where the Catholics formed the minority of the population, the Loyolites and their friends found no objection to that principle, but in Belgium, where the majority were Catholics, they thought it wicked and sinful to grant to the Protestants equal rights with the Catholics; they accordingly opposed the liberal measure by all means in their power. The Belgian bishops formally pronounced (August, 1815) the new constitution as illegal, and rejected it by a *jugement doctrinal*. They accordingly refused, not only to

take the oath themselves to a constitution which, they alleged, "tended to oppress and degrade the Catholic religion," but even to grant absolution to all those who had taken that oath. At the head of these rebellious prelates was Maurice de Broglie, who went even a step farther than his colleagues; he refused to say the usual prayer in the church for the existing (Protestant) monarch. As it was well known that he entirely acted upon the counsel and under the influence of the Jesuits, whose blind instrument he was, the king, in his indignation, ordered (3rd January, 1816) the Jesuits to close their institution at Distelberg, and to quit the united kingdom (Netherlands) immediately. The fathers replied, that they were ready to obey if commanded to do so by Broglie, their competent judge, otherwise they would only yield to physical force. Broglie not only approved of that impertinent declaration, but promised even to protect them, if necessary, with his own life. Nay, he even put at their disposal his palace at Ghent, whither they retired as soon as the military had been despatched to enforce obedience to the royal will. Broglie having rendered himself guilty of many acts of sedition and agitation, and even attempts at

national insurrection, was summoned to appear before a tribunal to answer charges of high treason, but he escaped to France, in company of the pater rector, where he died, July, 1821. He was considered by the Belgians as a martyr, King William having acted rather unadvisedly in causing (9th October, 1817) the effigy of the prelate to be publicly exhibited on the pillory at Ghent, at the same time that two condemned criminals underwent branding on the spot. The Loyolites were not slow in turning to account the mistake of the king, instigating the people to all sorts of acts of violence and agitations against the heretic monarch and his government. It was at last found necessary to occupy (February, 1818) the castle at Ghent by the military, to put under seal all the papers and furniture found there, and expel the paters from their stronghold. The order of banishment, though it extended to all parts of the kingdom, was not rigorously executed; a few members were allowed to remain in Belgium, who now played a very active and important part under Pater Lemaistre, in the continued struggle between the clergy and Government. What particularly irritated the clergy and the Loyolites against William I. and his consti-

tution, was not so much the enactment by which all subjects indiscriminately were to enjoy equal civil and religious rights, as the abstract principle combined with it, to civilise and enlighten the masses, and free them from the bondage of priestcraft, under which they had been sighing for centuries past, a principle that even now occupies the mind of all enlightened patriots in Belgium. Such a grand object could certainly not be effected without first paving the way to it by the amended education of the young, which had hitherto been confided to the sole conduct and management of the priests, and which had been found to be exceedingly defective, and even vicious. It was on that account that the 226th Article of the Netherland constitution transferred the control and management of public instruction to the king himself, who in his turn declared it to belong to one of the chief departments of the state's administration. By this decision the nerve and sinew of the power of the Loyolites were broken, and no wonder that they decried it as infamous, wicked, and blasphemous. The zeal with which William I. devoted himself to the noble task before him, in the face of all obstacles thrown in his way, was the spur which

provoked more than any other innovation, the clergy to the most passionate opposition to the new constitution.

Though government was watching with Argus eyes the movements of the Jesuits, who continued to form the focus of the opposition, it was not able, owing to the great facilities given to them by the clergy, nobility, and the masses, to prevent a great number of the paters stealing into the country from France, under various names and disguises, and secretly establishing at Ghent, Löwen, Brussels, Liege, and other places, regular colleges of their own. The establishments, it is true, were closed by order of government in 1825, but the Loyolites, in connection with the other orders, continued to hold their prayer, religious, and political meetings, to the great scandal of Government, which not unfrequently, in the confusion of the moment, ordered to be transported across the frontier even members who did not exactly belong to the Jesus order, such as the "brothers of ignorance," and many others of a mystical character. These rigorous measures might indeed have put a stop to the machinations of the Jesuits in Belgium, had they been carried out with strict consequence and per-

severence. King William, however, alarmed at the great and increasing sympathy evinced for the Jesuits in his southern dominions,* became vacillating in his proceedings, by which the Loyolites were naturally encouraged to further opposition and resistance. In justice to the prince, we must not omit mentioning, that the Loyolites possessed in the states-council, and even in the cabinet itself, decided friends, who naturally did their best to rouse the monarch's fears of a general insurrection. In the last years of the Dutch rule over Belgium, the most fatal bastard-alliance was formed between the Belgian liberals, (to whom the monarch had rendered himself odious, by refusing the establishment of *juries*, by restricting the liberty of the press, and by other political blunders,) and the ultra-montane and Jesuit party, an alliance which finally brought about the fall of the Orange dynasty. The bait held out to the liberals by the Jesuits and the clergy, was, uncontrolled *freedom of education*, on which the clergy insisted most emphatically. This

* Thus, for instance, though it was forbidden to the Belgian youth to visit the Jesuit seminaries abroad, there were in 1826 not less than 150 students at the Jesuit college St. Acheul, in France, who all belonged to the first families, and even to the highest states-dignitaries of Belgium.

question, as we observed above, had been the principal bone of contention, ever since the creation of the united kingdom of the Netherlands, between the government and the clergy, and it now became the arena on which the parties contended with increasing passion. The king having ordered (September, 1825) that all the numerous private and public schools established by the clergy against the existing laws, and which had been mostly conducted by the Jesuits, should be closed, the measure entirely changed the plan of operation of the opposing clergy. Previously, the clergy had the control over public education as a *spiritual branch* of humanity, as a right that exclusively belonged to their own calling. No sooner, however, had government itself begun to exercise that control as a state affair, than they changed their cry into the opposite extreme. They accused government of wishing to restrict education by subjecting it to its own management, and converting it into a sort of states monopoly; they now claimed, in short, with the liberal portion of the community, free and uncontrolled education for their children. Having once, by help of the bigoted masses and simple-minded liberals, succeeded in snatching from govern-

ment that monopoly, they thought it an easy matter afterwards to appropriate it to themselves. The bulk of the Belgian people was and is in some measure still in a state of intellectual immaturity and under priestly subjection, and the so-called liberty in education, if carried through, could but result in the most cruel tyranny by the clergy, to whose private motives and interests the poor ignorant people would be sacrificed without any hope of redemption. As late as 1826, instances of popular ignorance, bigotry, and cruelty occurred in Belgium, of which there is hardly a parallel to be found in any other country of the civilised world. A countryman was, together with his four sons, arraigned before the correctional tribunal at Liege, for having roasted a living woman whom they considered to be a witch, upon burning coals; not satisfied with this cruelty, they afterwards tore with their hands the flesh from her body, and threw the dying wretch into the open street. In the same year, and in the same place, a priest was condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment for having wandered about the country as an exorcist, and acted, as he alleged, according to the rules of the church. It was also at Liege, and about that time, that children who

had visited the Lancasterian schools were excluded from confession and communion, while all books which taught that all men, no matter of what religion, are permitted to pray to the Almighty, were publicly burnt in formal *auto da fés*.

It is very characteristic of the coalition which the Belgian liberalists had concluded with the priestly and Jesuit party, that the latter always prudently kept in the background whenever a question of some magnitude arose, on the result of which the fate of the Dutch government depended. It was only *after* the revolution in 1830, that the *black coats* made their appearance, to share the fruits which the liberalists had earned with their blood.

The liberal provisions of the new Belgian constitution were soon turned by the clergy and the Jesuits to their own advantage. The complete separation of the church from the state, as pronounced by the constitution, furnished the clergy with the privilege to work mischief with impunity. The extension of suffrage to the most humble and poor inhabitants in the rural districts, who were mere machines in the hands of the clergy, furnished the latter with the most efficacious means to render

government subservient to Jesuitism and priesthood. At parliamentary elections, the priests led the peasants to the voting hall in the same manner as herdsmen drive their cattle to market ;* there they stood, a compact body without will and without sense, to decide by a majority the election contest against the intelligent and liberal town electors. Aware of their preponderate power, the priests went even so far as to treat with the candidates about the conditions under which they were to be elected ; and the neglect or violation of any of the stipulations was sure to be visited at the next election with expulsion. There were two other liberal provisions in the constitution, which indirectly gave the party the greatest power possible : *freedom of education and association right*. By the first, government lost all control over the schools, colleges, and universities in Belgium ; it came into the hands of the rich and influential priest-

* Arrived at the election room, the priests placed their peasants as a sergeant does his recruits—the taller men in front, and the others behind. They then repeated the speeches of the previous day, and distributed among the individuals cards with the names of the candidates upon them whom they wished to support. Those who would vote otherwise, they threatened to treat with rigour at their confessions. —*Bran. Miscell.* 93, p. 107.

hood, while the association right removed all limits and restrictions in the establishment of convents, cloisters, or ecclesiastical orders and monastic corporations. Since that time, the number of these institutions has increased in Belgium beyond all proportion, and the diocese of Mechlin, *e. g.*, which possessed in 1827, about eighty-six cloisters, numbers now more than one hundred and fifty.

We need hardly mention that the Jesuits, even more than the real parties themselves, displayed zeal and skill to turn the constitutional liberties to their own interest. No sooner were these liberties granted, than Belgium became overrun with the disciples of Loyola ; it seemed as if they had grown out from the very soil. Within a few years, they erected colleges at Namur, Antwerp, Liege, Tournay, Löwen, Bruges, Mons, Courtnay, Verniers, Turnhout, Brussels, Ghent, Alost, and various other places. To all these institutions were attached boarding-schools for the sons of the higher and middle classes, some of them numbering already, after a few years, more than two hundred boarders ; while the "brothers of ignorance," the tail of the Jesuits, had also established themselves, with brilliant success, for the in-

struction of the lower classes. In 1841, the schools of the latter at Brussels had been visited by two thousand children, who were probably more attracted by the clothes with which they were provided by the brothers, than by their instruction. Most shameful and revolting were the means which the Jesuits employed to bring into disrepute and decay the educational establishments of the state and the municipalities, as also to convert the universities in the towns into Jesuit colleges. In the confessional, from the pulpit, by the press, by the secret conferences (to which we will allude by and bye) with the fair sex, all the institutions which did not stand under the control and influence of the clergy were daily branded as heretical, and their teachers as outcasts, profligates, and wicked. In 1834, a "*free university*" had been founded by the voluntary contributions of the liberal party at Brussels, for the purpose of counterbalancing the influence of the clerical and Jesuit institutions; but the Jesuits spread such scandalous reports against that new establishment, as also against the Royal Athœnœum of that place, as soon to bring into decay these two excellent establishments. Though the

trustees had positively proved that the rumours were false and unfounded, it answered, nevertheless, the purpose in view. The university dragged on a lingering existence, the number of the students decreased every year, while the colleges of Jesuits became filled not only with the pupils of the *free* university, but also with those who had previously visited the states and civic universities. The total decay was chiefly owing to the want of competent teachers, as well as of industrious students in these universities. Most of the teachers found it to their interest to leave, and engage themselves rather in the Jesuit colleges, while but few candidates ventured to apply for the vacant places, from fear of being run down and losing their character by the persecuting slanders of the Jesuits. Another very pertinent circumstance also contributed to the decrease of the pupils in those institutions. Many fathers sent their children to the Jesuit schools merely to enjoy domestic peace and quiet. Nor was it very difficult to persuade them to the step, the Belgians being upon the whole *matter-of-fact* people, who care less for abstract learning and sciences than for useful knowledge and professional arts. Not only were these practical

branches taught at the Jesuit schools, but by the influence of their teachers, the students, on leaving the colleges, frequently received places under Government, made rich marriages, or received lucrative employments in some other way.

In the same way as the provision concerning the liberty of education only served to transfer its control to the clergy and Jesuits, in like manner did that of the liberty of the press only serve to introduce such barbarous restrictions as are hardly to be met with even in those countries where the most rigorous censorship exists. While the censorship only controls the *reading*, the Jesuits were powerful enough even to control the *reader*. After the revolution of 1830, several liberal journals had made their appearance in Belgium, but they gradually disappeared from want of public patronage. From the pulpit, in the confessional, and the Roman Catholic papers, the *bad* (liberal) press was denounced in unmeasured terms, and absolution refused to their subscribers. If a man was insensible to the punishment, it was extended to his wife, on whom it seldom failed to have due effect. The whole staff belonging to the liberal press, the compositors not even excepted, were

excommunicated, and the printers and publishers thereby brought to beggary. The same fate was shared also by the general literature of the country. The publishers in Belgium expressed themselves plainly on that score. Any new work, they said, that does not sacrifice at the altar of the ultra-Catholic clergy is sure to prove a failure, and they must therefore take good care not to publish any work which might in the least prove distasteful to the priesthood. We thus see, that a nation may be provided by its constitution with all sorts of freedom and liberty, and yet carry heavy chains of bondage, if it does not join to its political, spiritual and intellectual independence; if, in the foolish disregard of the higher interests of humanity, it looks at the material good of the world as the only question of life, opening thereby the most extensive sphere of operation for spiritual jugglery and moral abuses. No nation can be called *politically* free so long as its mind and reason are kept captive. Moral and mental freedom is not only the mother, but also the best safeguard, and the last keystone of civil liberty.

Under these circumstances, we must not cavil too much with the King of Belgium for having, as a

Protestant, courted the good graces and friendship of the Jesuits, since it was impossible for him to sit firm upon his throne without the aid and assistance of that body, though it is not improbable that the late queen, who, like her mother, was rather devout, and a great patron of the order, may have in some measure inspired her husband with some good feelings towards the sons of St. Ignatius. It is a well-known fact, that the queen never failed to attend church whenever one of the members was to deliver a sermon. The example of the queen was naturally followed by the whole female court, and as a matter of course by the whole female residents of the town. Jesuit preachers thus became the lions of the day, and men of high fashion.

Moreover, the influence of the Jesuits on the female sex, is nowhere so great and pernicious as in Belgium. It may appear rather strange, that the Belgian women, who are somewhat devoid of imaginative powers and deep feelings—qualities by which elsewhere the Jesuits usually make their way to female hearts—should nevertheless appear so enthusiastically partial to the members of the order. That partiality is, however, easily explained. Most people,

and particularly women, generally entertain the deepest respect for those who are superior to them in intellectual endowments, and still more so, if the little they do know has been exclusively derived from the instruction imparted to them by these superior minds. In Belgium, the Loyolites are not only confessors—aye, exceedingly mild confessors—but also the confidants of all family troubles and secrets. Woe to the man with whom the Jesuits are displeased; he may say farewell for ever to domestic peace and comfort. Neither is their dominion less powerful over the daughters of the unhappy mothers. They allure the young girls, under prospects of rich marriages, into all sorts of pious societies, which stand under the patronage of some favourite Jesuit saints. Their influence is, in short, so unlimited over the female sex in Belgium, that the husbands never dare to oppose the private conferences held between their wives and the paters. The conferences consist, in the woman retiring for a few days to the convent, where she practises pious exercises in the presence of the fathers, who provide her besides with devout rules for her conduct at home. Into these retreats, only married women are admitted, a class of the fair sex

whose intercourse is particularly courted by the disciples of Ignatius. If scandalous reports arise from the overzeal, *i. e.*, too much liberty taken with the fair sex by the priest in such conferences, or in the confessional, the superiors have a ready means of silencing these reports by suddenly removing the sinner from the place, and sending him as a missionary to some part of America. This circumstance accounts for the increasing number of such missionaries within the last fifteen years in America.

Also in Belgium we meet with the remarkable, though not strange fact, that the pious fathers, having succeeded by the help of the other resident clergy in establishing themselves, and in acquiring wealth,* power, and influence in the land, did not scruple to turn these weapons against their previous

* *Gioberti*, p. 83, says, "Arrived at Brussels, they began with buying the hotel Coulmont for 120,000 f. Since then they have erected a building which cost them more than a million, while now the whole of one side of the Ursuline-street, with the exception of one single house, belongs to them, and there are hardly two or three houses on the opposite side of which they are not the owners. In the excess of pride they have asked government to allow them to build a private subterraneous passage, to save them the trouble of crossing the street."

friends and supporters, in order to force them, like the laymen, into slavish obedience and moral bondage. The Loyolites having increased in Belgium from 117 members in 1834 to 454 in 1844, thought that the time had then arrived when they might play the masters and tyrants even over the episcopal church in Belgium. The Belgian bishops had not only always supported the Loyolites in the most obliging manner, but even followed their counsel and suggestions in all matters concerning the hierarchy, aware that they (the Belgian Jesuits) stood in direct communication with Rome, whence they had also received the secret superintendence over the Belgian church. In one respect, however, the bishops would not and could not comply with the desire of the Jesuits, to transfer to them the Catholic University at Löwen (which had been founded by the bishops), for the purpose of converting it into a purely Jesuit college. Ever since the establishment of that University, the sly fathers had tried to gain influence there by all sorts of machinations, and they finally succeeded in obtaining permission from the Archbishop of Mechlin, Engelbert van Sterckx, to open a theological course of lectures in that institution, simulta-

neously with those held by the regular professor of theology, member of the faculty there. Their lectures became so popular as to draw to them even the theological students of the university, and the consequence was that the theological audience soon deserted their benches in favour of those of the Jesuit lectures. Having gained that position, the fathers then requested that the university should altogether be handed over to them, since the theological lectures, they argued, which formed the most important branch of education there, were virtually already in their hands. The cardinal-archbishop, and the other members of the episcopate, however, declined to agree to it. The refusal gave rise to a bitter contest between the Jesuits and the trustees of the university, on whom, as usual, the Jesuits lavished ever since 1844 the grossest calumnies. From the pulpit, in the confessional, and in their frequent private visits and conferences, they accused the six Catholic bishops, the inspectors of the university, of promulgating heretical and revolutionary doctrines. The *Rector Magnificus*, the well-known fanatical Abbé de Ram, and several other professors were, they maintained, ultra-liberals, and over indulgent to the students in their moral training. Nay,

they even advised parents to send their children to the states university at Ghent or Liege, rather than to that at Löwen. To alarm the parents still more, they spread a rumour that the students of Löwen were all attacked with syphilis, and secretly kept under medical treatment in the private residence of the professor, Vice-President de Cock. Also at Rome, and with unparalleled effrontery, even at the Belgian episcopate, they denounced and brought complaints against the trustees and professors of that university. They accused, for example, the rector and vice-rector of neglect of school discipline, Professor Ubaghs of his philosophical lectures, his colleague Hallard of his course of irreligious lectures on French literature, and two professors of medicine of omitting to attend confession and partake of the communion.

Absurd and incredible as were all these complaints, they did not fail to produce at least a partial effect ; the respect and influence enjoyed by the Loyolites, especially among the middle and higher classes, were immensely great. The number of the students at the Löwen university visibly diminished, and so did the voluntary contributions by which it was supported ;

it soon became evident, that the institution must ere long cease to exist for want of pecuniary means to maintain it. The greatest blow was given to the university by a rival college established by the Jesuits at Namur, where they opened a regular course of lectures on philosophy and philology, and for which they succeeded in enlisting a great number of students. The bishops, seeing all their efforts frustrated by the cabals of their foes, resolved at a meeting which they held in the archiepiscopal palace at Mechlin, in February, 1846, to address the pope energetically on the subject, representing to him the disgraceful and grievous intrigues of the Jesuits, and requesting help and redress at his hands. Though they received in April of the same year a reply from Pope Gregory XVI., in which he promised them his assistance in unequivocal terms, it might still have been a matter of doubt whether the bishops would after all have received redress from that quarter, had not that pope died shortly after, and the chair of Peter been filled by Pius IX., when the unlimited power of Father Roothaan in Rome was broken for ever. The Jesuits, anticipating adverse and critical times for their order, prudently desisted from further contest

with the Löwen university, and even resolved to shake hands with the bishops. The consequences of their intrigues, vindictive feelings, and ambitious views which they had manifested in the contest, were however destined to recoil upon their own head. The eyes of the people were at last opened to the real character and aspirations of the order; a great many who had previously proved the best friends of the Loyolites now spoke openly against their abominable agitations, and the conviction soon became general, that the order is the worst and most dangerous enemy of the country, its constitution, and liberties.

THE JESUITS IN FRANCE.

FRANCE has, on the other hand, the merit of having combated with exemplary perseverance the spread of Jesuitism, even under the most trying circumstances and in the most critical moments of her social and political convulsions. Already during the consulate of Napoleon, the Jesuits had, as we have shown in the foregoing pages, found in France a welcome reception

and encouragement for the spread of their order. Nay, they even dared, under the protection of friends and patrons, to defy the subsequent orders of the emperor for their expulsion. Towards the end of his reign, they possessed four mansions in Paris alone. One of them, situated in the Post-street, contained their largest *noviciate*, at the head of which stood Pater Clorivière, an old member of the order before its abolition in 1773, and one of those zealous individuals who by their active perseverance succeed in keeping up a broken institution for a considerable length of time. This opposition to the mandates of the emperor brought him into prison, from which he was however soon released by the intercession of some of his female friends. The Bourbons had therefore no need of importing new Jesuits into France; they found them there in considerable numbers already at their arrival, and the question was consequently no longer about their admission, but about the re-introduction of the order in due form under its real name.

The Loyolites, it may easily be believed, neglected nothing to accomplish that object in France, which country seemed to them to be the most appropriate

for their movements and success, as possessing the most decisive influence upon the other Catholic countries of Europe. Already in 1814 the whole of the pious portion of the Gallican population fasted and prayed for the speedy and formal re-introduction of the order in their fatherland. From the pulpits of many churches, not only praises were sung to the Almighty for having inspired the pope with the resolution of re-establishing the order in the Catholic world, but also prayers were offered to Heaven to endue King Louis XVIII. with similar sentiments in France. In towns, villages, and boroughs, petitions were presented from door to door for signatures, purporting to address the monarch on the subject, and concluding with the words: "Jesuits and no Charter!" Nor was the press less employed to support the petitions. France was then deluged with fanatical tracts and pamphlets, in which were shown the nullity of all human charters and constitutions, and the impossibility of bringing about real civilization in the country without the co-operation of the Jesuits, &c.

Louis XVIII. is said to have promised to several fathers, during his abode in England, the re-establishment of their order, should Providence

place him upon the throne of his fathers. Neither is it at all improbable that he should have given such a promise, that monarch, like many of his brethren in those days, having sincerely been impressed with the conviction that the revolution of 1789 was one of the effects of the abolition of the order in 1773. Be this however as it may, no sooner had he ascended the throne of his fathers, than he saw that it was much easier to give than to keep such a promise, the great majority of the French population being animated with an irreconcilable hatred towards the order and its members. He therefore evasively replied to the pressing importunities of the friends of the Jesuits, that circumstances would not for the present allow the formal re-establishment of the order, and that he must wait for more favourable opportunities to set the matter to rights. The fathers, however, repeatedly returned to the attack, and as the monarch not only remained passive in their favour, but even kept intact the new constitution granted by him, which in their opinion not only contained wicked and irregular concessions, but had even retained those old laws which declared their order to be illegal in France, they lost all patience, and openly began to wage war against

Louis, his government, and the charter. They disputed the legitimacy of that prince, on account of his not having been anointed by the church, which alone is capable of endowing the rulers of the earth with wisdom to perform the duties of their high calling. Pater Boyer carried his impudence so far as even to describe the prince, in a pamphlet published by him, as the herald of Anti-christ, for having granted the constitution to France.*

A monarch so jealous of his authority as that Bourbon was, could surely not be induced to act in favour of the Jesuits by means of violence and attempts at insurrection, and the latter would hardly ever have succeeded in conquering the royal ill-will, if an influential woman, the usual guardian angel of the order in times of their troubles and adversity, had not interceded in their behalf. A member of the order, a certain Abbé Liautard, had rendered an important service to the Countess du Cayla, the volatile mistress of Louis XVIII., in her little intrigues, and thereby inspired her with a very high opinion of an order that counted so very clever and

* *Roche-Arnaud, Mémoires d'un jeune Jesuite*, pp. 11, 17, and 27.

dexterous an individual in its ranks; and this favourable opinion was still more strengthened by the paters Jennesseaux and Grivel, particularly the latter, whom the countess quaintly called *a model of a perfect Jesuit*.* Since that time the Jesuits possessed in the countess a charming and skilful advocate of their cause, though the monarch still refused to re-establish the order in due form, maintaining that the reintroduction of the Jesuits would be as great an error as was their banishment. By the formal instalment of the order, he thought, the liberals would feel highly offended, while the injuries caused thereby to the Bourbons and the monarchy would hardly be compensated by the advantages to be derived from the talents displayed by the Jesuits.† With the exception, however, of the formal re-estab-

* "Father Grivel is a model of a Jesuit; he is pliable, amiable, caressing, and dissembling. His mind is fine and delicate, his manners sweet and polished. He insinuates himself into your familiarity almost against your will. He is moreover toleration personified. . . . Nothing is more accommodating than his moral doctrines. . . . When Morosini (one of her lovers) died, he did all he could to comfort me and sooth my grief. How is it possible to resist so much perseverance?"—*Mémoires d'une femme de qualité sur Louis XVIII., sa Cour et son Règne*, IV. 94.

† Soirées de Louis XVIII., I. 353.

lishment of the order under its real name, the Jesuits obtained almost all their wishes: the practical removal of the existing laws against them, the acquisition of the most extensive field of operation in France, and their increasing influence at court and with the government generally.

Already in October, 1814, and before the publication of the repristination bull of the order, many Jesuits had settled at Paris, Bordeaux, Amiens, Soissons, Forcalquier, and many other places of France, under their *pseudo* name, "fathers of faith." A royal decree (5th October, 1814) had indeed paved the way to these establishments, as also to their settling under their real name, *Jesuits*, at Toulouse, Aix, Avignon, Poitiers, and other places. By that decree, the so-called "smaller seminaries" were withdrawn from the superintendence and supervision of the universities, and permission given to the bishops to select and appoint their own teachers. The majority of the bishops, moved partly by friendly feelings, and partly by the increasing influence of the Jesuits at court, were easily persuaded to intrust the latter with the conduct of these seminaries. No sooner were the Loyolites in possession of the ma-

nagement of these institutions, than they founded a great number of colleges of their own under that *pseudo* name, among which was the one at St. Acheul, near Amiens, which shortly afterwards rose to the highest eminence in the kingdom. That college soon became one of the most fashionable establishments in the kingdom, so much so, that it was considered a high favour to have a child educated there. At the time when that institution was in the zenith of its glory and prosperity, in the latter days of Louis XVIII. and the first of his successor, even the choristers there consisted of the sons of dukes, counts, and other peers of the realm. St. Acheul and the establishment at Montrouge formed the head-quarters of the pious fathers in France, the central points whence they spread their nets all over the country. In this village (Montrouge), which is about a league distant from the French metropolis, Pater Coulon had, at the instruction of his order, purchased in his own and his brother's name, in 1814, a small dwelling, a common country house, which had been visited in the summer months by the paters of the Post-street, in Paris, for the sake of recreation and change of air. By the liberality of Count

Montmorency and other wealthy friends of the order, this modest little country seat became after a few years one of the finest ever possessed by the Jesuits in France. Its magnificent gardens, shadowy lanes, and the tasteful and luxurious arrangements of the whole establishment, made it one of the most attractive residences in the kingdom. In 1818, they had erected there their chief noviciate for France, the abode being well calculated to please, during the time of probation, the sons of high and wealthy families. Montrouge having moreover been selected as the summer residence of the *provincial* of France, it also became the usual rendezvous of a great number of grandees, the friends and patrons of the Loyolites. Neither was it less frequented by those who were fond of good cheer. Many bishops, dukes, counts, ambassadors, deputies and high statesmen were seen more frequently at the refectory at Montrouge than even at court; indeed, these pilgrimages belonged at that time to the *haut ton* of distinguished society in the metropolis.

A remarkable instance of the activity of the Jesuits during the French Restoration, was the great number of their home missionaries. To meet the

want of priests which had been felt in the provinces after the fall of Napoleon, Louis XVIII. had allowed (September, 1816) missionary sermons (or sermons by missionaries) to be held in the various churches. No ecclesiastical order made more and better use of that privilege than that of St. Ignatius. They found in these so-called missions the best means of taxing the people in favour of their political and financial purposes. Already, in 1818, this jesuitical mission-farce had taken a wide field in France, and it might not unreasonably be nicknamed a *parody of the Revolution*. It was a parody, in which the *Jesuit cowl* had replaced the *red cap*, in which demagogues had ascended the pulpit instead of the tribune, in which fanaticism played the part of enthusiasm, while ambition and covetousness of monkish faction were endeavouring to agitate the masses against the existing order of things. The particular object these missionary preachers had in view, was not to lead back the people to the old dogmas of the Catholic church, nor to lower the lay-clergy in public opinion, but solely and exclusively to keep up the agitation against the national charter, and deprecate the principles of

modern times and their representatives. Even in the printed forms of prayer which they distributed during their stay in the large towns, to the church frequenters, the following passage occurs : " May God have pity with the French people, and give them back that liberty which they have thrown away to follow a deceptive phantom of imaginary freedom, or rather a licentious course of frivolity." What that lost liberty consisted in, is explained by the sequel of the prayer, which said : " May Heaven pardon the French their crimes and wickedness which are committed throughout the unhappy country. They rob the churches, cloisters, and religious institutions of their ornaments and wealth ; they have killed and dispersed the male and female servants of the church, the shepherds whom the Holy Ghost has given to the sheep, and they have replaced them by unworthy mercenaries, ambitious hypocrites, and rapacious wolves. They indulge, in short, in all sorts of wrongs towards the most trustworthy of all shepherds, the monastic orders." Lafayette, Benjamin Constant, Foy, Manuel, and the other leaders of the liberal party, were stigmatised by these missionary preachers as arch-scoundrels and outcasts, of whom

nothing less was to be expected than to see them shortly decree a Bartholomew night for all the priests in France.

It is well known that the Jesuits were at all times given to mercantile speculations, and that by their smuggling goods to and from Spanish America, and their fraudulent bankruptcies in France and the West Indies, they had greatly contributed to raise the popular storm against themselves towards the middle of the last century, which finished by the suppression of the order in 1773. Even in that respect the modern Loyolites have followed the footsteps of their predecessors. In the same way as they were known at Vienna to speculate largely in the stocks and other money transactions, in like manner were they suspected in France, during the Restoration, of dealing largely in wines. Another branch of commerce which they carried on, too openly to be doubted, was the retail trade of the missionaries in the joys and sufferings of the future world, as also in the hopes and sorrows of the present. Mission and traffic went hand in hand. Shops, stalls, and confessionals had been established in and at the churches. A rich supply of hymn books, missionary tracts, pamphlets,

rosaries, crucifixes, medals, Agnus Dei, hearts, rings, skulls, scapularies, images, &c., with which they were provided, were recommended, offered, and sold, at *reasonable* prices, to high and low, in towns and villages, at stalls erected at the entrances of the churches, in a spirit worthy of the best auctioneers in the English metropolis. Though the worthy disciples of Ignatius are usually more fond of dealing with young than old women, in the agency traffic, however, the elderly daughters of Eve were preferred to the younger, probably because of their garrulous disposition and love of bargaining. "Holla! holla! neighbour," cried one of these female agents to another who had her arms so full of tracts and crucifixes that one of them fell to the ground, "Holla! don't drag your '*bon Dieu*' in the mud!"

This retail traffic was carried on by the missionary paters with all the candour and ease that belong to the calling, and with all the chink and jingle appertaining to the trade. The most experienced and ablest town traveller could not better gloss up his samples, and better recommend them against all competition, than these missionary travellers. In a regular catalogue and price current, printed and dis-

tributed at Bayonne in 1819, of missionary books sold at the stalls in the entrances of the cathedral and St. Andrew's church, it is said: "At these stalls are found many other curious and edifying works, which promise to give the utmost satisfaction to all devout souls. Good Christians of both sexes cannot do better than to employ their money and deposit it here, money being the source of all crimes. Anxious souls had therefore better get rid of the base metal. *Important Notice*—Rosaries of glass pearls which are sold in other places, though they may also be sacred, do not enjoy the indulgencies which his holiness the pope has granted to those on these stalls." We ought also to mention, that the catechisms and other tracts offered for sale contained the most bitter attacks upon the principles of the Gallican church, and the greatest misrepresentations of the constitution and the laws of France. Neither were their hymns and other sacred songs, which had been adapted to the profane melodies from the times of the Revolution, free of these abuses, while they contained besides, some very obscene and revolting expressions.

Upon the people, and especially the female sex of

the lower classes, these Jesuit missionaries exercised the most pernicious and poisoning influence. Domestic happiness was usually the first that disappeared under the influence of their pestilential breath. Hardly had the day dawned in a place after the arrival of the missionaries, than a large number of women of all classes left their houses to be present at the missionary sermons and exercises, which usually commenced as early as five o'clock in the morning, in one of the churches, where, as in theatres when a new play is announced, the crowd assembled a few hours before the time appointed, in order to secure good places. The care of the household and of the children was left to the men, while the women nearly spent the whole day at church, in all sorts of alternate religious processions and devotions. But few of these devout creatures took the trouble of casting a look at their own doors for a few moments, and if they did so, it was merely to satisfy the cravings of the stomach. This neglect of home duties was the more felt in southern France, the head quarters of the missions, where most of the minor trades are carried on out of doors, and the household management is exclusively left to the care of the women. At

Marseilles (1820) a woman locked in her two children, two and five years old, to go to the missionary meeting. The youngest fell into the fender, and became a prey to the flames, while the mother was perhaps at that moment confessing to the Jesuit missionary of having committed a deadly sin by eating an egg on a fast day. Frequently poor children were seen wandering about in the streets, cold and hungry, sobbing for their mothers. "Where is your mother, child?" "In the mission; in the mission," was the crying reply!

A carpenter in Normandy had succeeded, after many years toil and economy, to amass a small capital of a few hundred francs, when a section of the mission arrived at the place. The wife of the good man, frightened by a sermon in which one of the fathers had sketched the torments of hell in the blackest colours, hastened to the preacher to ask him absolution of her sins. The latter declared that her case was so bad that he could not do it under six hundred francs. The frightened woman, to save her soul from eternal perdition, did not hesitate for a moment to obtain salvation by the hard savings of her husband. She purloined the sum, and handed

it to the priest. The carpenter having a few days afterwards need of a little sum, hastened to the drawer where it was kept, but found it gone. The changed conduct of his wife, and some other circumstances awakened his suspicion as to the real thief, and after some conversation with his wife, she acknowledged the truth. The exasperated carpenter, without saying anything more to his helpmate, at once repaired to the dwelling of the absolution vender armed with two pistols. Wishing to speak to him in private, he was shown into a back room, where the carpenter, pistol in hand, demanded back his six hundred francs, which were instantly returned to him by the alarmed monk. The daughter of a linendraper at Marseilles, a young girl of twenty-three, had returned one day from the missionary confessor in a very melancholy mood. The danger of eternal damnation, with which she had been threatened by the confessor, had made a deep impression on her mind. The father, alarmed at the state of his child, requested her to cease visiting the missionary. "You are Satan," replied she, "away, begone!" Not long after, she was sent to a madhouse, where she put an end to her existence by throwing her-

self out of a window on the third story.* These few traits will suffice to illustrate the fatal consequences of the influence which the Jesuit missionaries exercised upon the female sex in particular. As nothing was done by Government to check the mischief done under the cloak of religion, the people frequently did so of their own accord. The stage, which is used in France, ever since the days of Molière, as the medium to combat the tricks, abuses, and intrigues of priestcraft, was, at the time we are speaking of, also made the arena against the missionaries. Almost in every place where a theatre existed, the people demanded the representation of "Tartuffe;" but as the local authorities sometimes interfered with the general request, open riots were often the result. Moreover, the very appearance of these missionaries in a place, not unfrequently led to disturbances, when they were obliged to perform their religious exercises under the protection of the police. Having arrived for the

* *Zschokke*, "Ucherlieferungen zur Geschichte unserer Zeit," pp. 25—48; *Montglave and Chalas*, "Histoire des Conspirations des Jesuites, &c.," p. 413; *Roche-Arnaud*, "Mémoires," p. 86.

first time (October, 1819) at Brest, the missionaries were saluted with the cry, "Death to the Jesuits!" &c. They only escaped forcible expulsion by voluntary retirement. Even in the suburbs of Paris, where the paters first dared to make their appearance (1820), before they presented themselves (a year afterwards) within the walls of the French metropolis, it was found necessary to protect them from public insult and assault, on the scenes of their activity, by large bodies of police, gendarmes, dragoons, and even artillery. Their pious exercises in the cathedral at Rouen, in March, 1826, were regularly interrupted by crowds of people rushing in with the cry, "Death to the Jesuits! Death to the missionaries!" and it was necessary to clear the church every time by the military, while the women, who persevered in repairing to the church, were hissed and hooted and even drawn back by main force by groups of the assembled mob. The same happened with the missionaries themselves. No sooner was the crowd dispersed by the military at one point than it rallied at another, and, despite the persuasive harangues of the authorities to disperse, the disturbances lasted for several days, until they

assumed such a serious character, that it was found necessary to despatch an additional detachment of soldiers to the place, to clear the streets and restore order.

These missionary doings, however pernicious in themselves, were far from being the greatest evils brought upon France by the Jesuits, nor did they even form one of the powerful vehicles of jesuitical operations. It was the *congregation* by which the Jesuits became a real plague to the land, and at the same time objects of popular hatred and persecution. We look upon the *congregation*, that remarkable system of association in its most flourishing and extensive development, in which the Jesuits have always been great masters—ay, much greater even than in their system of education—as the true organ, the grand secret of the immense influence which they have for centuries exercised upon European society. By means of that peculiar system, the order of Loyola joined to the standing army of its spiritual or real members, who were bound to live according to the rules of their order, also an army of secular volunteers, Jesuits in short coats or skirts (*à robe courte*), who were not in the least disturbed

in their ordinary calling and trade, and of whom nothing was required but that they should wear certain sacred appendages as a sign of recognition, say daily a short prayer, now and then participate in the more heavy exercises of the church, and engage themselves by a simple vow for a certain time, (in France, for instance, for the term of five years,) to render all possible services to the order and obey its instructions. In return, they were promised a ready promotion of their worldly views and interests, and absolution and indulgence of all sins and transgressions. Neither were these promises empty words incapable of realisation. The mighty and widely ramified order of St. Ignatius was powerful enough to procure by its interest far greater advantages to individuals, than could any other corporation, fraternity, or even secular power. Hence the great facility with which they acted upon all classes of society, by holding out the seductive prospects of ambition or pecuniary gain, according to the views and the position of the individuals whom they wished to enlist in their service. In recent times, in particular, the success of the order rested chiefly on the co-operation with its standing army (the real *ton-*

sured members) of the innumerable hosts of volunteers, the Jesuits in short coats, who had been enlisted from all classes of the population. This was not only the case in France alone, but also in all countries where the disciples of Ignatius have been permitted to settle and acquire power and wealth. We shall dwell at some length upon this peculiar branch of jesuitical operation, because, having obtained in France its utmost development, it affords the best historical clue for sketching its characteristic outlines.

Already, under the consulate, the work of association had, after a long interruption, been resumed by the Jesuits. One of the "fathers of faith," Pater Bourdier-Delpuits (of Auvergne), had in 1801 founded in Paris the "congregation of the holy Virgin," under which name a similar fraternity had been established in France by the Jesuits in 1563, under the sanction of the then Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal de Belloy. The congregation founded at the beginning of the present century counted members indiscriminately from all classes of society, and chiefly served as a sort of receptacle of all elements of discontent. It consisted of all persons who

were displeased with the prevailing systems in "religion" or politics. Notwithstanding that Napoleon had decreed in 1804 the abolition of all ecclesiastical orders, the "congregation of the holy Virgin" had remained intact under the protection of the empress-mother and Cardinal Fesch. Even after the peremptory suppression of the Jesuit order by the emperor in 1810, the existence and the operations of the "congregation" were but for a short time interrupted. The Abbé Philibert, afterwards Bishop of Grenoble, soon re-united the dispersed members, and the "congregation" fostered a secret existence under the guidance of the Abbé Legris-Duval until after the fall of the empire in 1814.

With the restoration of the Bourbons the activity of the "congregation" became much more extended. The distinguished favour shown to the society by the brother of Louis XVIII., Count Artois, and his bigoted daughter-in-law, the duchess of Angoulême, even in the first week after their return to Paris, soon stamped the "congregation" as a union of the highest distinction in the fashionable world. But the zeal which the union displayed in opposing the national Charter and constitutional monarchy,

soon constituted it the central point of all ultra-royal and ultra-montane agitations. Again, the very comprehensive plan which the congregation had in view—the reconstruction of the sovereign and absolute power of the church—required a previous re-organisation of its own society on a much broader basis. It was, indeed, to this latter work that the Loyolites applied all their energies. The one large “congregation,” which had been composed indiscriminately of all classes of society, was divided by Pater Ronsin, their superior, into several sections for the different classes of the population respectively. The presidency of the first section, which contained for its members princes, dukes, counts, marquises, cardinals, deputies, and prefects, was allotted to Pater Ronsin; that of the higher and middle classes to Pater Varin; that of the mechanics and military to Pater Roger, while other Jesuits presided over the congregation of the masses or the lowest classes, such as servants, children, and even thieves and other criminals, for whom the sly fathers had formed a congregation even in the prison cells. All these congregations had been christened by several names in connection with the Catholic church. There were congregations for the

“diffusion of belief,” and for the “defence of the Catholic religion,” congregations of the “sacred mysteries,” of the “holy sacrament,” of the “sacred heart of Jesus,” of that of the Virgin, of the “sacred rosary,” the “holy sepulchre,” of the “Saint Louis of Gonzaga,” of “Saint Joseph” and many others of a similar character. They were divided in tens and hundreds, and possessed leaders or superiors of both sexes, women being also members of the congregation. These leaders collected the weekly or monthly subscriptions (labourers and servants paid one sou weekly), which they handed over to the Jesuits, their chiefs. In addition to these subscriptions, the members on entering the congregation were obliged to engage themselves by a solemn oath to “promote the great cause of God and the holy Virgin by all possible means in their power.” When we consider that the first division ultimately numbered above a thousand members of the highest aristocratic families, of whom the greater part were either fanatics or blockheads, or probably both together, and that many of them had allotted the greatest part of their annual income, amounting to ~~from~~ sixty thousand to one hundred thousand francs, to the

service of the society, it will easily be conceived what vast sums of money the Jesuits must have had at their command in the metropolis, as also in the large and middle towns of France. We are assured by a very credible author (Roche-Arnaud) that in the first years of the reign of Charles X. upwards of six millions of individuals had belonged to the congregation, who, as a matter of course, stood at the entire disposal of the order.

It was natural that the "congregation," with such means in hand, should ultimately exercise influence also on the government of the country. Indeed, it formed the soul of that privy council of Louis XVIII., which possessed already, in 1820, power enough to carry through the House or *Chambre*, the famous or infamous three laws against the press, individual liberty, and reform of the elective system. The new order of things to which these laws had paved the way, received its best support in the succeeding year (15th December, 1821) by the nomination of a ministry whose members belonged to the "congregation," and who were consequently *Jesuits* in the proper sense of the term. Villèle, Minister of Finance, and Corbière, Minis-

ter of the Interior, were known to be amongst the most zealous and truest members of the "congregation," while the Duke of Montmorency, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was even one of the chiefs of the society. As members of the congregation, they were in duty bound to fill all the subordinate places of the administration with the creatures of the society, or rather with Jesuits. And so they did; M. Renneville, who had shortly before left the Jesuit school at St. Acheul, became Chief of the Cabinet-bureau; Franchet, a congregationist, became Director of the Police of the kingdom; and another, a certain Delavau, Prefect of the Police at Paris. The prefectures and subprefectures, the posts in the states' council and embassies, and, as a matter of course, the episcopal chairs, were generally given to persons recommended by the "congregation." The antechambers of the Jesuit presidents, Ronsin and Jennessaux (the latter being Attorney-General of the Province of France), were usually filled with courtiers and supplicants for places, while the ministerial offices swarmed with clerks taken from the congregation.

Great was, moreover, the supervision and vigilance

of the congregation over private and family life, by other and different means. By the vast number of offices established by it for the placing of clerks, valets, tutors, nurses, chamber-maids, grooms, cooks, &c., and at the head of which generally stood some ladies of high rank, the congregation had the best means of making sure of the services of the needy classes. The families, moreover, who applied to such offices for servants, &c., became thereby known to the society as belonging to their friends, to whom application might be made in necessary cases. But the principal object gained by these offices was the confession and confidential information given by the individuals who had obtained places, reports by which the members were enabled to become familiar with all the secrets of family life, with all its wants and foibles, with all its wishes and defects. Neither was the establishment of a "marriage-office" neglected by the society. Those who devoted themselves to its services were sure to make rich marriages, as the confession registers of the society always contained full accounts of the desires and wants, strong and weak sides, of all persons wishing to enter the bonds of matrimony.

A nation, however, like the French, so full of life, spirit, and sound sense, was upon the whole not so easily to be deceived as the congregationists imagined it to be. Though the number of those who fell into their snares was very considerable, the majority of the nation was not caught by their baits and intrigues; the majority, on the contrary, looked with increased indignation at the workings of the Jesuits, which had been directed against the spirit of the age and the character of the present generation, more especially since the accession of the bigoted Charles X. In the last months of the reign of Louis XVIII., a motion had passed the *Chambre des Députés* for the restoration of ecclesiastical *corporations* (i. e., the *Jesuit* order). It is true that the motion was modified in the *Chambre des Pairs*, where it was limited to convents alone; no doubt, however, remained on the public mind, that under the new coming king the motion would be renewed and carried to its full extent. Nor was it less known that Charles X. had at last ascended the throne with the firm resolution of erasing from the Charter the provision of religious freedom and toleration, a resolution to which he had long before his accession been

prompted by his Jesuit confessor, Janson, and the leaders of the "congregation." The majority of the people were consequently only waiting for an opportunity to vent their feelings of hatred against the order and the "congregation," while the pious fathers were so blinded by success, that they themselves furnished the people with that very opportunity. Of all the Journals, the "Constitutionnel" and the "Courrier Français" had particularly nettled the Jesuit party by their strong and indefatigable leaders against the toleration of the order in open violation of the laws of the land. The Jesuit party, confident of power and influence, had no hesitation in bringing an action against the two papers. They were accused (December, 1825) of spreading the wildest religious anarchy, of attempts at subverting the throne and existing order, and of contempt of the church and her servants. The complainants therefore requested that the court might decree the suspension of the two journals. The court, however, dismissed the complaint after an able defence by Dupin and Merilhou. The motives expressed by the court for dismissing the complaint, furnished the opponents of the Jesuits with far more ready weapons for

future attacks, than did the judgment itself. The sentence was founded, the court argued, on the grounds, that the articles complained of contained in substance only attacks against the re-establishment of ecclesiastical corporations, which are by law prohibited, as also against the ultra-montane doctrines which had for some time been publicly preached and taught by a portion of the French clergy, and which were certainly calculated to put in jeopardy the religious and civil liberty of the country. Paris was filled with joy at the announcement of the sentence, or rather at the protest of the judges against the illegal partiality of government towards the Jesuits. Baron Seguiér, the president of the Court of Appeal, became the most popular personage in the metropolis, where a peculiar spirit of activity now began to manifest and develop itself against Jesuitism. The scandalous chronicles of the machinations of the Loyolites, and the notorious "Monita Secreta" were re-published in various forms. The disputes between Jesuitism and Jansenism were re-opened in print, while a new and cheap edition of Molière's "Tartuffe" was issued from the press, and, being sold at five sous the copy, more than 25,000

were disposed of within a few days. Nor was the periodical press behind in its strictures on and attacks of the jesuitical order and its members. Of all the literary publications on the subject, none was more deeply felt by the Jesuits, or has inflicted on them greater injury, than the celebrated pamphlet of Count Montlosier,* known as a staunch royalist and zealous advocate of the aristocracy. Having entered the lists against the Jesuits and the congregation in 1825, in the periodical "*Drapeau blanc*," he published at Paris, in March 1826, the above pamphlet, in which he showed by indisputable facts, and in a clear and elegant style, the great dangers that threatened the throne, altar, and fatherland, by the toleration of the order. The effect of that *brochure*, which, by the by, reached the eighth (large) edition before the close of 1826, was still more enhanced by the author having incurred thereby the disgrace of government, who dismissed him from his post in the ministry of foreign affairs, a circumstance that stamped him in the eyes of the people as a martyr for a popular cause. The next effect of

* "*Mémoire à consulter sur un Système religieux et politique, tendant à renverser la Religion, les Sociétés, et le Trône.*"

that pamphlet was, that eighty of the most eminent lawyers in Paris gave it as their impartial opinion, and declared openly, that all unions and congregations which are not authorized by law, are punishable by law; that the re-introduction of the Jesuit order in France, which had been abolished by the statutes of the empire, is unconstitutional; and that government ought therefore to be compelled to dissolve all these interdicted unions, corporations, societies, and orders. Montlosier thereupon formally moved in the Court of Appeal for the issue of such a decree, but as the Court declared its incompetency to act in an affair which strictly belonged to the Executive power or the supreme police, Montlosier addressed a petition to the *Chambre des Pairs*, which appointed a committee of inquiry on the subject. The report of the committee (Jan. 1827) (composed by Count Portelais the younger), showed the necessity of putting a stop to the illegal existence of the Loyolites in France, and of referring the petition to the President of the Cabinet, with the request to remove the grievances complained of therein. Notwithstanding the opposition of M. Frayssinous, Minister of Public Instruction,

and the Bishop of Hermopolis, as also of many other friends of the order, the report was consented to (19th Jan.) by 113 against 75 votes, chiefly owing to the increasing displeasure and jealousy with which the peers regarded the great attachment of the court to the Jesuits and the congregation.

In the introductory part of the speech of Fraysinous in the *Chambre des Pairs*, in defence of the pious fathers, he alluded to the fact, that for the last two years the whole country was echoing the name of the Jesuits; that it would be much easier to find people who are indifferent to religion and politics, than to the society of Jesus. He spoke the truth, though in a different sense. The Jesuit affairs had indeed become so much the question of the day, that every other question assumed a subordinate character at the side of it; that the most decided antagonists in politics shook hands and forgot for awhile their party spirit, in order to devise the best means of combating the most dangerous enemy of civil and religious liberty, the order of the Jesuits. Nay, the very admission made by the Minister of Public Instruction, that the order did actually exist in France, and the extravagant praises which he lavished in the course of his speech

upon its members, plainly showed that the court was then more than ever busy with the re-establishment of the order in due and legal form, and that such would of a certainty ere long happen if the country did not protest against it in the most decisive manner. Later revelations have satisfactorily proved that the suspicion was well founded. Instead of taking into serious consideration the decision of the upper House, government defied public opinion to such a degree as to cause Charles X. to undergo the most humiliating treatment at a review of the Parisian national guard which he held (29th April, 1827), when he was incessantly greeted by the latter and the assembled crowd with the cry, "Down with the ministers ! Down with the Jesuits !"

Viscount Martignac, successor of Villèle (1828), justified the expectations of the nation, that he would adopt measures against the machinations of the Jesuits. He named Count Portalis (the reporter of the above petition in the upper house) Minister of Justice, and M. Vatimesnil (a decided enemy of the Jesuits) Minister of Public Instruction, while he removed from all the higher places of the administration, and more especially from the police, all the

functionaries who were known to be friends of the Jesuits and the congregation. Having completed his preliminary arrangements, Martignac issued (16th June, 1828) those famous decrees by which the eight Jesuit colleges at Aix, Billom, Bordeaux, Dôle, Forcalquier, Montmorillon, St. Acheul, and St. Anne d'Auray, which had existed under the feigned name "small seminaries," were to be suppressed, or rather transferred to the control and supervision of the university, by the 1st of October of that year. He further decreed, that no president or teacher should be appointed in these seminaries without a previous written assurance on their part, that they do not belong to any of the religious societies prohibited by law. Also the number of the real "small seminaries" and their pupils was greatly diminished, and a better discipline and more adequate principles introduced in the establishments. It had cost Martignac immense trouble to induce the bigoted monarch to assent to these measures as a voluntary but indispensable concession to public opinion in France. Charles X. is said to have gnawed to pieces the pen with which he signed the concessions, and to have declared loudly, that these signatures had caused him the

bitterest agonies and regrets—that they had brought him in direct contradiction with his own conscience and his truest servants. The immense joy throughout the country at the publication of those measures were only equalled, if not even surpassed by the rage of the Jesuits, the congregationists, and the whole episcopate. The latter, headed by the Cardinal-Bishop of Toulouse, the Duke of Clermont-Tonnère, raised a vehement opposition to those decrees, which the duke denounced as a flagrant encroachment on his rights, as a triumph of the revolution, and as the work of Satan. Who knows to what extremes this “*Fronde of the vestry*,” as the papers called them, had not proceeded in the excess of passion, if Rome, more wise, cautious, and sharp-sighted than the blinded prelates, had not interfered in the matter at the request of Martignac? The declaration of Pope Leo XII., that “he saw in those decrees no violation of the episcopal rights, and that he did not therefore think himself justified in forcing upon France, ecclesiastical societies which had been expelled by the laws of the land,” had the desired effect of silencing the bishops, and partially removing the Loyolites from the country. The latter,

not willing to hand over the control of their eight colleges with more than 3000 pupils to the university, preferred closing them altogether, and removed with a considerable number of their late pupils to the neighbouring Switzerland, and across the Pyrenees.

The joy of the French was however somewhat diminished by the news, that the compliance with the abolition decree had only been limited to one portion of the Jesuit establishments. Those which were not expressly named in the ordinances continued to exist under the secret protection of the bishops, Martignac having, to spare the feelings of the monarch and his court, thought proper not to enforce the strict compliance with the decrees in that respect. What chiefly alarmed the patriots of France was, the knowledge that the influence of the Loyolites and the congregation had remained unabated upon the king and his court, and that they (the Loyolites) were working with visible success to bring about the fall of the Martignac ministry. To facilitate their endeavours with the monarch, the Jesuits worked upon his sympathy, and suggested to him the expediency of replacing Martignac by prince Polignac, the supposed illegitimate son of Charles X.

The latter readily approved of the suggestion, and in August, 1829, Polignac was called to the head of the Administration. This event, as may be supposed, was hailed by the Jesuits and the congregationists as a great victory of principle, the Polignac ministry being the most priest-ridden and aristocratic cabinet that existed in France ever since the restoration of the Bourbons. Hardly had the news reached the Loyolites abroad, than they made preparations to return to France and retake possession of their forsaken establishments. Large numbers of them arrived at the French frontier from Italy, in anticipation of the speedy abolition of the decree of June, 1828, in which anticipation they were justified by the nomination of the Jesuit pupil Guernon de Ranville, nicknamed the "Messiah of the Congregation," as Minister of Public Instruction (Nov. 1829).

Who knows to what extent the mischief might not have been carried, if the revolution of 1830 had not put a speedy end to the whole fabric of iniquity. It has been proved beyond doubt, that the elder Bourbons owed their fall chiefly to their devotion to the Jesuit party and their pernicious

counsels. Charles X. and his son, the weak-minded Duke of Angoulême, were nearly brought by the Jesuit Janson, the royal confessor, and the two other heads of the clerical party (the papal nuncio, Lambruschini and Cardinal Latil), to a state of *quasi*-insanity, in which they thought themselves bound in the name of religion, and for the salvation of their own souls, to sign, in violation of the constitutional charter, those July ordinances which cost them the throne and dynasty.*

The storm of the July revolution had scared away the sons of St. Ignatius from the French soil, while some of their establishments, and especially at St. Acheul and Montrouge, were even plundered and demolished by the exasperated masses. At the demolition of the latter institution, a printed register was found, which showed that the order counted at the beginning of 1830, in France, 149 priests, 163 school-divines, and 124 coadjutors, making a total of 436 members. An ordinance of Louis Philippe annulled (1831) the decree of 1816 for the admission of missions in France, which were henceforth pro-

* "Causes secrètes de la reformation d'Etat en France, 1830."

hibited. In November, 1831, the new Minister of Public Instruction issued a circular to the trustees of all the higher schools in the realm, in which the bishops and archbishops were earnestly enjoined to comply strictly with the decree of 1828 respecting the "small seminaries," and more especially with the provision requiring a written declaration by all teachers, that they do not belong to any prohibited religious society.

We see that Louis Philippe was at first firmly resolved to guard France against the Jesuit pest, though it is also well known, on the other hand, that the pious fathers had left the country for only a short time. No sooner, indeed, was the first alarm over, than they began to steal in gradually and cautiously. A few of them who had been recognised (Pater Druilhet at Bordeaux in 1832, and Pater Besnoin at Tours) had been put in prison, but as there was no particular charge laid against them, they were discharged, with the advice to depart immediately from France. Druilhet repaired (May, 1833) in company of his colleague, Deplace, to Prague, to undertake, at the earnest request of Charles X., the education of his grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux.

The dethroned king was, however, by the representations of his friends, dissuaded from the step, lest it might prejudice the prince in the eyes of the French, should it become known that he had been educated by Jesuits. The two fathers were accordingly dismissed in November, 1833.

What encouraged the Loyolites to return, though clandestinely, so shortly after the revolution, was the certainty that they possessed in the Queen Maria Amelia a staunch patron and friend; nor is it improbable that it was owing to the interference of that bigoted princess, that Government took no notice of their presence in France, a fact that must have been known to the Government, as is evident from the conversation of Thiers with the provincial pater Renault (1833) concerning the above-mentioned circumstance of the intended education of the Duke de Bordeaux. The ordinances of 1828 were soon, under such circumstances, rendered nugatory (despite their renewal in 1831), in open violation of the decree, when many bishops did not scruple to employ stealthily Jesuit teachers in their seminaries. There can be no doubt, however, that the indulgence shown by government towards the Jesuits was in part also owing to

the desire of Louis Philippe to reconcile the episcopate with the July revolution, while the paters themselves facilitated that indulgence by having acted upon the advice of Pater Roothaan in Rome, who told them not to live under one roof as an incorporated body, but to reside dispersed as simple assistant priests in the various dioceses, and to avoid generally all appearances of show and ostentation, by which the suspicions of the people might again be roused to their destruction. In this manner their reappearance, when it was at last discovered, gave so little alarm to the public, that it was not even found necessary to insert in the parliamentary enactment (1837) about national instruction, a clause against the re-engagement of Jesuit teachers in the national schools. The Reporter of that enactment, St. Marc Girardin, expressed himself on the subject, amidst loud cheering of all parties, as follows:—"What! Are we now to fear the Jesuits? How, with our institutions, with this tribune, with our two chambers! How, with the philosophical arsenal of our libraries, are you afraid of the Jesuits? No, let us not lower ourselves so deep in the eyes of Europe!" &c. It was owing to this fatal ignorance of the spirit of

Jesuitism, which is proof against *philosophical arsenals* and *parliamentary tribunes*, that, ten years after the July revolution, there were in France more Jesuits than before 1830, an official return having shown that on the 1st of January, 1841, the number of the Jesuits in the two provinces, France and Lyons alone, was 581.

Already, before 1837, the Loyolites had ventured to emerge gradually from the obscurity in which they had sought refuge in the first few years after the revolution. They were not a little encouraged to that step by the great concessions made by Louis Philippe in all matters connected with the church and religion, in order to reconcile the French clergy to his own dynasty. These concessions, however, not only tended to increase the arrogance of the higher clergy, but proved also of great advantage to their *protegees*, the disciples of St. Ignatius, who best know how to profit by the foibles of those in power. In 1838 the Bishop of Clarmont had refused christian burial to the afore-mentioned Count Montlosier, because he had not consented to recall the irreligious sentiments expressed in his writings, and more especially in his "Mémoire à Consulter." Not-

withstanding public indignation, and the eloquent speech of Victor Cousin in the House of Peers, in which he dwelt on the scandalous conduct of the bishop and the necessity of Government interfering in the matter, the only notice the latter took of the affair was simply to signify its disapproval of the conduct of the bishop. In the same year (1838) the Jesuits even ventured to re-open their missions at Rheims. As the authorities seemed disinclined to enforce the law, serious disturbances took place (December, 1838), when the parsonage and the St. Jacques church were demolished by the mob, while the missionaries escaped with their lives from the popular fury, with great difficulty.

Some time afterwards, the *Jesuits* made preparations for organizing themselves under their real name in the French metropolis. They began by presenting themselves in their most captivating and dazzling capacities. Before any symptom was perceivable of their existence and operations, a preacher of their order, Xavier of Ravignan (previously a proxy of the Attorney-General at Paris, and afterwards a member of the order), filled the capital and the whole of France with admiration of his brilliant and edifying

extempore sermons. True and dazzling talent is sure to win the French public, and inspire it, if not with conviction, at least with a respect bordering on enthusiasm. Thus, even after it had become known that Ravignan was a Jesuit, the public admiration and attendance by no means diminished ; the little defect was overlooked on account of his preponderating talents, and, as it was thought, convincing inspiration. At first, his sly brethren did not acknowledge him as one of the fraternity ; but after his having secured a triumphant position in society, they had no hesitation in announcing his creed and order. People certainly regretted that such a man should ever be a member of such a disreputable society ; but it was considered in him a foible rather than a crime, a misfortune to be pitied rather than punished : there were in short all sorts of charitable excuses made in his favour, and his popularity did not in the least suffer by the discovery. A Jesuit had thus managed to become an object of *fashion* ! What immense gain for the order ! To become a man of fashion in the fashionable metropolis of the fashionable world, was indeed something worth striving after. It was now possible for the members to settle gradually in France

under the shadow of his popularity; it was indeed now the people who had granted absolution to the Jesuits!

About that time Louis Philippe had lost his first-born son, the Duke of Orleans (13th July, 1842), by a fall from his carriage. The affliction of the mother was deep and lasting, and the Jesuits were not slow in profiting by the mishap. Even the marriage of the duke (1837) with a protestant princess had previously given offence to the clergy of the orthodox church, while confessors and other monks had tried to inspire the bigoted queen with religious scruples about that union. After the death of the prince, it was not very difficult to persuade the afflicted mother that his death was a retribution from Heaven for the sin committed by the wicked marriage, that the queen was herself guilty before the Lord for having given her consent to the union, and that the deceased would be condemned to hard sufferings in purgatory, if he was not ransomed by his surviving relations by extraordinary works of piety and repentance, and among others the conversion of the unhappy young widow, as also the re-establishment of the order of Jesus within her dominions—a thing

so much desired by the holy father and all truly pious Catholics, &c. These exhortations fell upon a very susceptible soil, a bigoted and afflicted heart. It is true, that in all matters of public affairs the queen's influence upon Louis Philippe was not only insignificant but even more than counterbalanced by that of his philosophical sister, Madame Adelaide. Yet was the king—though he made no secret of his sentiments, that he believed more in Voltaire than in all the popes and bishops taken together—from political motives inclined to grant the wishes of his spouse. There could be no doubt that his dynasty had lost, in the very popular crown-prince, one of its strongest pillars, and that a regency with the unpopular Duke of Nemours at its head, would be only resting upon a very weak foundation. Louis Philippe therefore looked about in all directions to secure any support likely to prove beneficial to his house, no matter from what quarter it came. He thought, that the support from the clergy afforded him the most solid security for his dynasty, undeniable symptoms of piety and religion having manifested themselves more than ever among the French people at large. He was therefore resolved to enlist

the church in his favour, and use her, in the spirit of many potentates of our day, as a mere machine and organ for his government. But he was also aware, on the other hand, that he could only by means of considerable concessions bribe the clergy in favour of his dynasty, and he therefore began the work of conciliation by the greatest favour he could bestow on them—the re-introduction of the order into his dominions. We thus see, that the death of the Duke of Orleans was an eventful occurrence even for the church. With the acuteness and sure instinct so peculiar to the Catholic clergy, and the Loyolites in particular, they were not slow in perceiving the brilliant prospects that had been opened to them by the tragical end of the prince. The bishops accordingly renewed in the same year the great struggle about the re-admission of the Jesuits into France, which they disguised in the cry for *liberty of education* and the right of parents to choose for themselves teachers for their children. In France, public or national instruction had stood, since 1808, under the exclusive control and guidance of the university, an imperial decree of the 17th March of that year having passed that no schools of any description should be established

or opened in the empire without the permission of the university of France; and further, that no one should profess to teach in such schools without being a member and graduate of the university. Only the great theological and episcopal seminaries formed an exception; they had been pronounced exempt from the above restrictions. In the national Charter or Constitution of 1830, these restrictions had been removed by the Legislature in its over-zeal to apply *freedom* and *liberty* to all branches of social life. The sad effects which liberty in education has wrought in Belgium, soon convinced the French government of the blunder they had committed in allowing that pernicious latitude also in France; and the consequence was, that it was deemed prudent not to bring the law concerning uncontrolled education into practical force, but to let it remain a dead letter, a mere theory in the statutes of the land, to be acted upon at some future period when called for by circumstances. The Loyolites, however, had for a long series of years endeavoured to convince or persuade the higher clergy, that the university, and the organization of public instruction emanating from it, were monstrous evils, that the sole aim and object

of that institution was the annihilation of the Catholic religion, the destruction of the church, and the abolition of priesthood. The bishops, in consequence, under a show of right, only claimed the execution of the law in favour of unrestricted education, by which they morally meant, the permission to be granted to the Loyolites to act as teachers, and as a matter of course to establish their own schools and colleges for the education of the French youth. Nor were the bishops less prompted to the step by their personal dislike to the university and its prerogatives, which they thought savoured too much of revolutionary innovations, and were incompatible with the spirit of the restored aristocracy to which they themselves belonged. It was, however, only in 1842 that they took courage to bring forward their complaint in proper form. They demanded, in plain terms, unrestricted liberty in education, to allow every religious order, every clerical fraternity, and in general every individual who felt a desire and calling for the profession, to establish schools of their own for the instruction of youth. With this claim, a war of life and death was declared against the university.

We have seen, in the first pages of the present history, that, a century previously, Berzozowski the Jesuit-General had found it perfectly right and reasonable, that in Catholic Russia everything that touched upon public instruction should be left to the control and supervision of the state; that also in Sardinia the same arrangements had prevailed as in France, the universities of Turin and Genoa having had, in the name of the state, the control over all the minor educational establishments in the country. But as the university of France did not think proper to bow under the yoke of the Loyolites, after the manner of the universities in Sardinia, it was decried as an institution working the ruin of religion and morality, and as an establishment full of wickedness and iniquity.

It need hardly be mentioned, that the disciples of St. Ignatius formed the avant-guard in the furious combat which was now raging between the university and the French episcopate. The Loyolites used here their most dexterous weapons—scandal, calumny, slander, and perversion of truth—with a specimen of which we will treat the reader. The Jesuit, Desgarets, canon at Lyons, published in May,

1843, a book under the title, "Le Monopole Universitaire," in which he pointed to the immediate and palpable effects of the university education ; they were, he said, suicide, parricide, homicide, infanticide, duel, violation, burglary, seduction, incest, adultery and the most refined debauchery, theft, plunder, prodigality, unjust claims, perjury and calumny, transgression of all laws, communism both as regards property and women, insurrection, tyranny, revolution, and murder. Still more passionate and absurd, if possible, were the expressions of Theodor Cambalot (an apostolic missionary) in his "Mémoire adressé aux évêques de France et aux pères de famille." Secular instruction is, with him, an encroachment on the rights of the church, an insult to God, and a wrong to society. He thinks, that the clergy alone are able to educate and rear the man and the Christian, the citizen and the Catholic ; but as the work of education is too extensive and laborious for the lay clergy, assistance ought to be had from the religious bodies, such as Jesuits, Redemptorists, Dominicans, Franciscans, &c., which orders ought on that account to be restored in France. This pamphlet of Cambalot contains,

besides, gross insults upon the university and the government; it summoned, moreover, the episcopate, to excommunicate that and all similar secular establishments, and even to refuse to their pupils the communion and the sacrament. Government having pronounced the pamphlet a libel, its circulation was prohibited and the author legally prosecuted (January, 1844). He was found guilty, and condemned to fourteen days' imprisonment and four thousand francs fine. The Bishops of Valence and Chalons, however, were not intimidated by that sentence. They showered praises and laudations on the condemned in all papers and periodicals at their command; they extolled his merits in the cause of the Catholic Church, and took, upon the whole, a very lively part in the violent contest.

Among the extravagant tirades of a Desgarets, Cambalot, and others of the clique, who, instead of profiting, rather damaged their cause by indulging in perverted facts and in low personalities, a pamphlet published at the beginning of 1844, by the aforementioned Pater Ravignan, produced great sensation in the metropolis, and wrought, at least for a time, an advantageous influence upon the public mind in

behalf of the Jesuits. It bore the title, "De l'existence et de l'institut des Jesuites," and contained an apology for the Jesuits. Never had the cause of the Loyolites been conducted with such adroitness, in such overpowering language, with such dazzling sophistry, with such seductive dignity, and with such an appearance of deep earnest conviction, as were displayed in this pamphlet with its simple title. But the greatest practical significance was given to Ravignan's open manifest—in which he demanded, amongst other things, a revision of the statutes, and of the moral and material rehabilitation of the order—by his own confession that he was himself a Jesuit, and that there were 206 Jesuit priests living in France. The number of the Jesuits here stated is both correct and incorrect. In speaking of the number existing in *France*, Ravignan meant the province *France*; but with a mental reservation natural to the order, he led the public to believe that it was the whole of France, the kingdom of France, that numbered only 206 members of the order; but in point of fact, their number in the whole monarchy was at that time 825. Another equivocation lies in the term *Jesuit-priests*, there being a

number of the members who lived dispersed in the country without being priests in the strict meaning of the word.

At all events, the published avowal made by Ravnigan that there were above 200 Jesuits living upon the French soil, was a bold and clear manifestation of the contempt in which he held the laws of the land, which ordered the banishment of the Jesuits. It is also a proof, that the Jesuits must then have felt so entirely safe and secure, so entirely confident of the favour of the authorities, as to dare to admit their existence in France, instead of endeavouring to withdraw that fact from public notice, as they did previous to that time. Neither did the authorities take any notice of that confession, and the partiality of government for the order was still more evident from the dismissal of Michelet and Quinet, the two greatest champions of the university. The Jesuits now delayed no longer to make the best use of the but ill-disguised favour of government. They founded a considerable number of noviciates and other establishments, though they thought it prudent to proceed with great caution and circumspection. Ever since the commencement of the dispute between the epis-

copate and the university, and more especially after the brilliant success with which the above professors (Michelet and Quinet) had taken up the gauntlet for the university, the attention of the liberal press had particularly been turned to the pious fathers, the Loyolites. The Jesuit question became the question of the day, and was incessantly treated, in various forms, in an infinite number of works, pamphlets, periodicals, and journals. The Jesuits perceiving their steps watched with Argus eyes, thought it proper not to be too rash in their movements; and so effectually did they indeed conceal their proceedings, that neither the number of their institutions, nor the full extent of their operations, were exactly known to the public and the authorities. The public at large only knew of their establishments at Paris, Lyons, and a few other places, and but few suspected that the fathers possessed a considerable number (twenty-five) noviciates also in Elsass, Picardy, and some provinces in the interior of France. As Monrouge and St. Acheul during the restoration, so did, in the latter times of Louis Philippe, their establishment in the Post-street at Paris, form the focus of their operations. The order also now possessed a great number of

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affiliated societies, which under various names of "brothers so and so," and "sisters so and so," were actively employed for the order. Their income from alms, legacies and donations, was more than sufficient to keep up all these establishments in France, even in superfluous elegance. The "sisters of mercy," and of the "holy heart of Jesus," were particularly useful to the Jesuits in their task of collecting alms from the pious population; but legacies which they obtained surreptitiously—an art in which the Jesuits always excelled*—proved an inexhaustible source of income to the order also in France. Indeed, there is hardly a country in Europe where private legitimate interests are more injured by that branch of Jesuit activity than in France, and no wonder that Eugene Sue's "Wandering Jew" has produced such an astonishing effect upon French society. The outlines in that admirable novel of the surreptitious way in which the Jesuits obtain large legacies, are upon the whole quite correct, though the details may be a little

* The words in our Litany, "Deliver us from *sudden death*," may perhaps have been introduced by the crafty monks, in order not to be deprived of the opportunity of persuading the dying from remembering the church in their will.

overdrawn by fictitious tints. As the existence of the Jesuits in France was in fact illegal, the fathers used the precaution to draw up the legacies and donations in favour of some private individuals connected with the order, who in their turn made them over to their own friends before delivering them up to the order, so that the latter received these gifts as it were from third and fourth hands, to avoid all suspicion and legal objections.

But it was not by these means alone, that the French Loyolites endeavoured to satisfy their craving for gold. We may safely say, that at no time and in no country has the order manifested more avarice and greediness for money and property than in recent times in France, where even the high state functionaries during the reign of Louis Philippe were not free from the infection. The pious fathers speculated largely in goods manufactured by the inmates of the religious and charitable institutions which they had established in vast numbers under various names in different parts of the country. With the assistance and under the control of the "sisters of the holy heart of Jesus," of the "good Shepherd," and other similar societies closely con-

nected with the order, the Loyolites had managed to create, among others, also congregations after the model of convents, for girls of all classes of society, as also to establish charitable institutions or homes for female servants out of employment. This latter institution was nothing more nor less than a crafty way of taxing the hard labour of the poor under that specious title. All the girls who entered that charitable establishment were obliged to work in all sorts of manufactures from morning to night, in return for the scanty food they received there. The pater-manufacturers were thus enabled to bring to market their own goods at a much cheaper price than could the lay manufacturers, who had to pay regular *wages* to their labourers, while the merchant, who served as the commission agent for these convent manufactures, (which, by-the-by, were exempt from duties of any sort,) became the most dangerous competitor in the market. The consequence was, a number of failures and bankruptcies, the result of those religious and philanthropic competitions. At Lyons, St. Etienne, and other manufacturing places, the wages of the factory girls had, in consequence of competition, been so reduced that they

were obliged to foster existence in another less virtuous way.

This bloodsucking avarice of the Jesuits, this encroachment upon the economy of society, in addition to the share they took in the disputes between the episcopate and the university, and the ungenerous weapons they made use of in that bitter contest—all this, and a great many more grievances, had greatly exasperated the people, and brought down upon their head the severest philippics from the press, which did its best to fan the public wrath against those outlawed intruders. The sly fathers must have been quite blind to the dangers that threatened them at that period, or they would certainly not have engaged in the notorious law suit (1845) against one of their cashiers, a certain Affnaer. By this law suit, the fact of the existence and organisation of the order in France became legally established, while the public was treated with an insight into the mercantile affairs of the Jesuits. It was no longer possible for government passively to ignore the existence of the members in France; nor were the friends of the fathers less incautious, in their adopting measures by which they forced upon the Legislature the duty of

ordering proper inquiry to be made into the subject. At a meeting held at Marseilles by the zealous friends of the Jesuits, it had been resolved to petition the Upper House to prohibit the popular lectures of the professors, Michelet and Quinet. In the sharp discussion to which the petition gave rise in the House, Cousin, in attacking most bitterly the order of St. Ignatius, also pointed to the illegal indulgence shown by government to the members. Thiers and Dupin having given a true and energetic exposition of the law against the Loyolites, the *Chambre des Députés* voted almost unanimously on the following day (3rd May, 1845), that a requisition should be made to government or the executive power to put in immediate force the law existing against the toleration of the Jesuits in France. Even at this last and hopeless stage, the bishops did not relent in their exertions in behalf of their *protegees* and friends. Several of them addressed the Minister of Public Instruction soon after the decision of the House, in terms of scorn and defiance; they were resolved, they said, to harbour the Jesuits in their own palaces, should they be driven out of their houses and establishments; and they dared the police to

show themselves within the walls of their sacred abodes. In an epistle addressed direct to the king, Prilly, Bishop of Chalons, declared in his own name, and the names of many of his colleagues, that "the cause of the Jesuits is clearly the cause of the whole church, and consequently also theirs; we know very well, he said, that every word that is spoken against the order, is a war-cry against ourselves."

Despite all these protestations and countermovements, government had no alternative but to comply with the requisition of the Legislature. But as a direct and strict execution of the law would have militated against the conduct of the court, and the equivocal line of policy hitherto pursued by Louis Philippe himself, it was thought advisable to compromise the matter by persuading the Jesuits to withdraw voluntarily from France. For this purpose, Count Rossi, French ambassador at Rome, received instructions to demand from the pope an order for the voluntary withdrawal of the Jesuits from France. It was well known that neither Pater Roothaan, the Jesuit general, nor the congregation of cardinals, to whom Gregory XVI. had left the arrangement of the affair, were at all inclined to listen to the representa-

tions of the count. Twelve days afterwards, however (5th July, 1845), the "Messenger," (a ministerial evening paper in Paris,) announced that the Jesuit question had been satisfactorily settled at Rome. This sudden readiness of the pope and the cardinals to come to an amicable arrangement, was only owing to the circumstance, that the French minister having failed in his original demand, thought proper to bring it afterwards under such a modified form, that neither the pope nor Roothaan could see any objection to it, since it secured to the Jesuits a far better position in France than before. It had been agreed, that Pater Roothaan should seemingly recall his subordinates from France, while the French Government promised in return, to close *temporarily* only the chief establishment of the Jesuits in the Post-street at Paris, and a few others at Lyons, Avignon, and St. Acheul, which were too well known to the public to be tolerated, but to leave undisturbed the other less notorious establishments, or at least to proceed against them very leniently. This was the result of Count Rossi's negotiations, which had been designated by the ministerial press as a signal success and diplomatic victory. Pater Roothaan could indeed have no

hesitation to accept the concession, it being evident that the order lost nothing by this momentary and partial resignation, which, as it was voluntarily tendered, without any previous legal and formal decree for expulsion or banishment, could only facilitate the return and reappearance of the members after a while, without drawing public attention to the fact. The French people soon perceived the imposition practised on them. Only a small portion of the pious fathers left the country; the greatest part remained and carried on their intrigues as before, though, perhaps, with a little more circumspection. The diplomatic deceit, as soon as it became known, only tended to increase the popular hatred against the Jesuits, as also the discontent of the country with the existing government. But when Louis Philippe at last thought proper to advocate the cause of the order also in foreign countries, and to play the part of a champion for the Jesuits in the civil war which had broken out in Switzerland at their instigation, public opinion in France had become so incensed at his conduct, that the loss of his throne and dynasty (in February, 1848) was no doubt greatly accelerated by that circumstance. The elder Bourbons lost their crown

because they took advice and counsel of the Jesuits, while Louis Philippe hastened his own ruin because he wanted to make an ambitious and sensitive nation the train-bearers of Jesuitism.

Much occupied with more momentous considerations, called forth by the war with Russia, the attention of the nation is for the present withdrawn from the Jesuits and their doings, probably to be resumed after the restoration of peace, when the religious principles of the present emperor will assume a more definite character, and decide the fate of the order in a more positive manner.

THE JESUITS IN SWITZERLAND.

WE may safely assert, that no country in Europe has in recent times experienced the pernicious effects of Jesuitism in a higher degree than did the Helvetic Confederation. Already, at the beginning of the present century, the Jesuits had made the attempt to re-establish themselves in Switzerland under the name of *Ligorians*, and, strange to say, they succeeded in the attempt first and foremost in that part

of the confederation, at Graubündten, where in past times the works of the Loyolites were engraven in sanguinary characters, in traits of blood throughout the territory. The government of that youngest canton, where Protestants formed the majority of the population, had granted in 1804 to several of the Ligorians the permission to settle. In a short time they contrived, by means of pompous service, general confession, mild indulgences, and easy absolutions, to acquire the confidence of the Catholic population to the injury of the lay priests in the canton. The Protestant majority of the Grand Council, had then resolved upon the banishment of the paters, but the measure was opposed by the less numerous Catholics, under the plea that it was calculated to impose restrictions upon their religion, and even upon the education of their children, there being rather a scanty supply of proper teachers in the canton. Political circumstances, however, compelled the minority to yield, and the Ligorians had accordingly been ordered to quit the territory.

In 1810, however, the Jesuits, della Torre, Godinot, Drach, Rudolph, and Staudinger, had succeeded in settling under the name of "fathers of faith," at

Valais, which canton had at that period belonged (as the department Simplon) to the French territory ; it seems, however, that their residence there was unknown to the local authorities, since the latter requested Pope Pius VII., after the repristination of the order in 1814, to send them some from Rome, when Pius replied, that there were already several in the canton, under the name "fathers of faith." On receiving this intelligence, preparations were speedily made to restore to them their old colleges at Sittin and Brig. Not long after, they had already under their control all the schools of the canton, though these schools stood nominally under the superintendence of the state. The same success attended also their attempts in the canton Solothurn, soon after the restoration of their order in 1814. Already, in 1804, a great friend of the Jesuits, the abbé Rohrbach, Canon of Strasburg, had endeavoured to effect the admission of the Jesuits in that canton, by offering in return to its government, whose exchequer was then in a very low state, a present of 50,000 francs. The government was foolish enough to agree to the bargain ; but as the "fathers of faith" had about that time incurred the displeasure of Na-

poleon, fear of offending that great "mediator" prevented the execution of the agreement. After the fall of the emperor, the papal nuncio demanded (1815) the fulfilment of the contract of 1804; and though the government of Solothurn seemed inclined to comply with the demand, the liberal party, supported by the professors of the Lyceum University, and even by a portion of the lay-clergy, offered such strenuous opposition to the demand, that the Grand Council not only declined (15th June, 1816) the re-admission of the Jesuits, but even enacted that the question should never be mooted again in the canton. A few communities, however, were afterwards allowed to receive Jesuit missionaries amongst them. This apparent defeat was, however, more than counterbalanced by the triumph of the Loyolites in the canton Friburg, in the little territory which has always been the darkest corner of the confederation, and the main citadel of the Jesuits. As late as the end of the last century, the ignorance of the people there was so great, that reading and writing were considered high accomplishments; and if any one in the rural districts was found reading, he was saluted with "Praised be the Lord Jesus, you are in your devotion," it being

supposed by the common people that there existed no other books but the religious tracts distributed amongst them by the clergy. In 1803 the Grand Council had appointed a Board or committee of education, consisting of eight secular and eight ecclesiastical members. The committee, however, never met, the measure having been obstinately opposed by the capuchin bishop Guisolan. Despite this state of affairs, a circumstance so favourable for their operations, the Jesuits, owing to the dislike of Napoleon, were unable to get a footing there, until the end of his career, and even then only under the less odious name *Ligorians*. Their whole conduct at that period is too characteristic of their principles to be omitted in our narrative. In June, 1811, Joseph Basserat, who styled himself Rector of the "congregation of the most holy Redeemer," petitioned the lesser Council of Friburg to allow him and seven or eight of his colleagues to stay for a few months upon Catholic ground, previous to his transplanting his congregation to the Crimea. The request was granted, and permission given them to remain until the 1st October; after the lapse of that time the permission was prolonged at the earnest

solicitation of Bishop Guisolan until the 1st May following. No sooner was the permission prolonged, than Basserat and his colleagues removed from the country seat of a friend of theirs at Balterswyl to a house in the capital of the canton, where they settled in good earnest, and secretly received even novices. As usual, they managed to acquire friends and patrons among the inhabitants. Confident of their protection, Basserat addressed (29th April, 1812) a request to the government to allow him to continue his abode and settlement at Friburg, but not a word did he mention about the departure for the Crimea. The lesser Council granted the request, under the express condition that Basserat should also obtain the consent from the French ambassador in Switzerland, otherwise he and his companions were to leave the canton without any further delay. Basserat, though he was unable to obtain the consent of the French minister, still lingered with his colleagues at Friburg, under the protection of the bishop and other friends and patrons. The bishop even carried his contempt of the local authorities so far, as even to install Basserat and a few others of the Ligorians in clerical benefices.

However objectionable the means were, by which the Friburg aristocracy had usurped the administrative power of the canton after the fall of Napoleon, they had nevertheless the merit of having, in the first years of their power, done more for national education than any of the previous governments of the canton. Under the conduct and care of a proper Board appointed for the purpose, Pater Girard, the celebrated Swiss preacher, author, and professor, was enabled to elevate national education in his little fatherland to an uncommon degree of eminence. Girard's method in teaching, which was admired by the celebrated Bell, and soon advantageously known abroad, was not only founded upon the system of mutual instruction, but also calculated to improve the mind and heart of the pupil in a moral and religious point of view. The visible advantages he had gained by the immense progress of his pupils, and which, if allowed to continue, would in a short time have wrought a perfect revolution in the life of the people, and destroyed to the very root superstition, vice, and ignorance, had excited the fears of the great host of spiritual blockheads in the canton, while the clergy in their jealousy even alarmed the

ambitious aristocracy with the prognostication, that the irreligious tolerance of Pater Girard's enlightened principles, were more calculated to put a speedy termination to their power than all the plots and intrigues of the political agitators taken together. The consequence was, that the greater portion of the aristocracy made an alliance with the clergy, which terminated in the destruction of Girard's grand fabric of education, and the surrender of its management into hands who had at heart the political interests of the aristocracy, rather than the improvement of the young generation.

But to whom could the task be better confided than to the Jesuits? for no one understood better than they did, the art of stultifying the people, and keeping them in gross ignorance; it was they indeed who, in conjunction with the aristocracy, had for the space of two hundred years kept the people of Friburg in utter darkness and brutal ignorance. The aristocracy therefore resolved to re-establish formally the order in the canton. Aware, however, that the liberal portion of the aristocracy would be opposed to the measure, recourse was had to the same deception, to the same trick, which was practised

at Vienna two years afterwards. The Jesuits were in the first instance introduced in Friburg under the name Ligorians. As the old Carthusian cloister at Valsainte had remained unoccupied ever since the departure of the monks in 1811, the grand-bailiff at Greys took the opportunity of asking Government to transfer the empty building to the Ligorians, for the purpose of establishing there a school or college. Despite the opposition of the liberal party, the Grand Council consented (16th Jan. 1818) to the proposal, by a majority of 61 against 45 votes. The grant was, however, given under certain restrictions, the most important of which was, that the number of the pater-Ligorians in the whole canton should not exceed eleven, and that of their servants five. But, as the leaders of the party well knew that the great light kindled by Girard could not be so easily extinguished by the small number of the mischievous fathers, it was further resolved to address the General Assembly of the Council, which was to meet on the 15th September, 1818, and request its consent to permit the re-establishment of the order in the canton under its real name, and the re-introduction of its members in unlimited numbers. The

papal nuncio and the friends of the Jesuits employed in the interval all the means in their power to win the people for the cause. In a largely circulated pamphlet, the party asserted in unequivocal terms, that every true Catholic ought to love the order of Jesus, and do all he can to promote the admission and settlement of the members; that the college at Friburg having been morally poisoned by modern philosophy, it ought to be left to the pious fathers to cleanse it of the poison, and conduct it in future on a better plan for the salvation of the young generation. But the most ready means employed of promoting the object in view, was the usual specific of the Jesuits, slander and calumny. Meritorious and respectable men, who had voted in the previous sessions against the admission of the Jesuits, were now branded as enemies of religion, scheming the overthrow of the old belief. In the morning of the 15th September, a day which has since become so famous in the modern history of Switzerland, a letter was received from the Vorort, or Government of Berne, in which the following prophetic expressions occur:—"The impending decision about the Jesuit

order will prove of the highest importance, not only for the canton Friburg, but probably also for the whole confederation. It may lead to incalculable consequences. We therefore entreat you, dear allies and fellow-confederates, to weigh well whether the welfare of the present and future generations, whether the true religion and moral requirements of our Swiss people, whether the continuance of a happy and political existence of our fatherland, the promotion of union among the various cantons, whether all this is compatible with the admission of the Jesuits, with the influence which the order, as the sole aim of its persevering and long efforts, may again acquire amongst you ; and whether, on the contrary, instead of advancing the higher interests of the state and the inhabitants, such a decision may not lead to dangers for both, which prudence and duty command us to anticipate by strong resistance. The experience of several nations and several centuries justifies these apprehensions."

Not less eloquent remonstrances, were made also by the liberal members of the Grand Council against the introduction of the Jesuits. Alexander Stutz and Landerset, in particular, sketched in glowing

colours the dangers that would result from intrusting the order with the most sacred treasure of the nation—the education of the youth—and with it also the whole future of national life; they dwelt with indignation on the probability of handing over the education of their children to members who, without genuine knowledge, without efficient education, without a fatherland of their own, and full of hatred against true liberty and enlightenment, are only endeavouring to suppress human intellect and promote ignorance and superstition in the public mind, who, meddling with everything, only wish to play the masters over families and even governments.

They quoted in proof, the following passages from a catechism which had been composed by a Jesuit father, named Sconville, and which, having been highly recommended by Bishop Laurent, the papal nuncio in Luxemburg, is now used for the youth under his episcopal care.

“ Q. Of what use is the sign of the holy cross ?

“ A. To destroy all sorts of sorcery, and to drive away the devil, ghosts, and all temptations.

“ Q. In what place will each one arise in the resurrection ?

“ *A.* Each one will rise in that place where the largest portion of his body remains.

“ *Q.* In what form will each rise again?

“ *A.* Of a middling stature, with well-proportioned limbs, and each according to the sex previously possessed.

“ *Q.* In what age shall we rise from the dead?

“ *A.* In the age of Christ, as if we all were thirty-three years old.

“ *Q.* Shall the world be inhabited again?

“ *A.* Some think, unbaptized children will inhabit it, but none else, not even the beasts.

“ *Q.* Is it allowable to take one's wages, or anything else due to us, in a secret, clandestine manner?

“ *A.* He who will act safely in this, must ask his priest.

“ *Q.* Must stolen goods be restored and the injury made good?

“ *A.* Yes, to those to whom it belongs, if possible.

“ *Q.* If the owner is unknown, what is to be done?

“ *A.* It must be given to God as the master of all, in the way of masses, alms, &c., for the benefit of the owner.

“ Q. Are there any more church laws ?

“ A. Oh, yes, there are others.

“ Q. What are they ?

“ A. It is commanded, for instance, to pay tithes.

“ Q. Of what should tithes be paid ?

“ A. According to right, of everything, but the custom of the place must decide.

“ Q. Is it a sin not to pay tithes ?

“ A. Yes, it is a great sin.

“ Q. How does the church punish the nonpayment of tithes ?

“ A. She commands that such as do not pay shall be excommunicated, and not restored until they have repaid all.

“ Q. What if they were wicked priests who should get the tithes ?

“ A. Honour is still due to them, for they remain vicars of God ?

“ Q. Where is hell ?

“ A. Hell is in the middle of the earth.

“ Q. Is hell very large ?

“ A. Not very, for the damned lay packed in it one upon another, like the bricks in a brick oven.”

Such are the instructions which a Jesuit bishop of the nineteenth century thinks suitable for improving the heart and mind of Roman Catholic youth.

As a specimen of Jesuit devotional exercises for those of riper years, a few extracts were also read from a work published in 1764 by Father Pembie, entitled "*Pietas quotidiana erga. S. D. Matrem Mariam,*" (or daily devotions to the Holy Mother Mary), and in which the following modes of propitiating her are recommended :—

"First.—Undertake a mental pilgrimage, and visit, in spirit, all the miracle working images of Mary throughout the world.

"Second.—Repeat the 'Magnificat' six times in honour of the six persons who were present with St. Elizabeth at the time of the visitation of our Lady.

"Third.—Repeat nine psalms in honour of the nine months during which Christ abode in the Virgin's womb.

"Fourth.—Repeat every hour of the day, 'Holy Mary make me meek and chaste!'

"Fifth.—Worship during the night towards a church dedicated to the Virgin.

“ Sixth. Offer to her the first cherries which come to table.

“ Seventh.—Scourge thyself, box thine ears, and pray the Virgin to present these blows as sacrifices before God.

“ Eighth.—Engrave the name ‘ Mary ’ on thy bosom with a knife, or corrode it into the flesh.

“ Ninth.—Kiss the name ‘ Mary,’ as often as you see it.

“ Tenth.—Send pious thoughts to the greater Mary in Rome.

“ Eleventh.—Make verses, or repeat them in her honour, as, for example, that devout hymn addressed to her hair-comb (there are five verses, but the last will suffice) which has been translated as follow :—

In all dangers give us to thy care,
Shield us from them with thy precious hair.
Safely by thy curling locks us guide,
To the city where all joys abide.

“ Twelfth.—Tell the Virgin you would be willing to give up your place in heaven to her if she had not one already.

“ Thirteenth.—Implore Mary to get you an audience by her Son.

“Fourteenth.—Repeat ‘Mary, hail!’ twelve times a day, in honour of the twelve stars that encircle her head.”

It was, however, all to no purpose. The majority of the Grand Council resolved (19th September), by 69 against 48 votes, to surrender the educational establishments in the canton, together with a fund of 1,000,000 francs, to the order of Jesus. The Loyolites were not slow in taking possession of the national college and Lyceum at Friburg. It is true, that, in the enactment, their number was limited to only thirty members; they, however, soon managed to exceed the prescribed limits, having cunningly contrived to place at the head of the central police an ultra-patrician, who was wholly devoted to their cause. Since then, their establishment at Friburg resembled a bee-hive. The exact number of the paters in the canton remained a secret to the uninitiated, though it was well known that in 1825 the number amounted to no less than eighty.

Several years, however, elapsed before the Loyolites ventured to attack openly Pater Girard and his system of education, so much was he, and so little were they respected by the public at large. Bishop Jenny, pre-

vously a panegyrist of Girard, and since a blind instrument of the Jesuits, had made, in 1821, a premature attack on Girard, when he completely failed in the attempt. The fathers were therefore now most sedulously employed in circulating slanderous reports against Girard, branding him in the eyes of the masses as a heretic, atheist, a Lutheran (Luther himself having belonged to the Franciscan order), a second Voltaire, &c., &c. On the 25th February, 1823, Bishop Jenny petitioned the States Council to abolish the method of instruction introduced by Girard. The pupils, he stated, were spending too much time in worldly knowledge, such as grammar, natural history, &c.; and the system being moreover adapted for the youths of all religious sects indiscriminately, the Catholic religion is thereby neglected, and the authority of the clergy considerably weakened. The citizens of Friburg, on the other hand, memorialised the government, saying, amongst other things, that the day when Father Girard's schools were to be closed would prove a day of general mourning. Of the eleven Catholic chief bailiffs in the canton, nine reported to the Board of Education, that all the charges brought against

Girard were without any foundation in fact, and that, on the contrary, the prosperity and industry of the little canton were chiefly the work of the very school system so much defamed by his enemies. The noble Franciscan himself (Girard) showed most convincingly, in a memorial addressed by him to the Municipal Council, that religion formed the central point of his method, while the Education Board almost unanimously rejected the petition of the bishop. It was, however, of no avail. The compact Jesuit party, which formed the majority in the Grand Council, resolved (4th June, 1823), that, as it is the duty of every good Catholic to follow blindly the will of his bishop, the request of the latter ought to be complied with also in the present instance. Thus, under cover of religion, the fate of a work was sealed, which might, at no distant time, have formed the chief corner stone of lasting welfare to the small canton. Pater Girard thereupon returned to Luzern, his native place, where, after the lapse of twenty-five years (1847), he heard with joy, that his mortal enemies had been banished from Friburg and the whole of Switzerland; and the good news was soon followed by his

formal recall to the former place of his intellectual activity.

It was, however, only after the departure of Girard, that the Loyolites were enabled to develop their education schemes to the fullest extent. They had now under their control, not only the higher departments, but also the education of the lower classes. They became, moreover, the guides and counsellors of the government itself, whose principal concern, it seems, was, how to degrade the little canton as a stronghold of the Jesuits in the very heart of Europe. The next thing the patricians of Friburg did for their dearly beloved Jesuits, was the establishment of a boarding-school on a grand scale. The building exceeds in magnificence any of the kind in Europe. It was erected in 1825, simultaneously with the Jesuit college, and was provided with splendid lecture-rooms, museums, riding-school, gymnastic and tiltyard, and playgrounds. The large outlay required for the building (the ground alone cost above 45,000 francs), was procured partly by shares, and partly by voluntary contributions at home and abroad. A splendid wing was added to the building as an eccle-

siastical *seminary*, which cost 160,000 francs. When this building was still in progress of erection, the Jesuits obtained (1826) the ready permission from government to found another settlement, a *noviciate*, at Staefis. No one knows where the money has been procured for the purpose. In addition, the fathers also discovered, that their lecture-rooms at Friburg were too small for the audiences. It is true, that there was close by, the academy, a stately building, which had formerly also been occupied by Jesuits, and might now have been used as a lecture-hall. But the humble disciples of St. Ignatius wanted a far handsomer, an ostentatious and imposing lyceum in their neighbourhood, and the wish was readily granted, the Grand Council having voted 130,000 francs for the new building in the same year (12th December, 1826). In vain did the minority protest against the squandering of the public money for the members of the order. In vain was it shown, that the money had better been applied to the erection of an orphan asylum and hospitals, or the improvement of public roads, prisons, &c.—institutions which the canton was so deficient in, and which had far better and more solid

claims on the public exchequer than those of the Jesuits; it was of no avail. The Jesuits ruled the will, minds, and hearts of the majority of the council, who carried every wish of theirs into prompt execution.

The immediate results of Jesuit dominion were nowhere more conspicuous than in the canton of Friburg. No sooner had the Loyolites settled there, than gross superstition, absurd ceremonial worship, ignorance, contempt of the laws of the land, unsafety of person and property, and moral depravity began to prevail to an unparalleled extent. Agriculture and husbandry were neglected, partly from idleness, and partly by the numerous holy days, which were most strictly kept; and the consequence was, the complete impoverishment of many communities. Even the affluence of the capital of the canton was daily on the decrease, though one would suppose, that the vast boarding-school, which became soon filled with pupils from all parts of Catholic Europe, ought to have increased the trade and occupation of the inhabitants. The moral depravity, however, which prevailed in the establishment, by far outweighed the material gain derived from the pupils, which, by the bye, was not

so considerable as might be believed. The pupils were not allowed to live in private lodgings, and were moreover compelled to buy the necessary articles, such as sugar, coffee, clothing, hats, shoes, &c., either from the paters themselves, or from their wholesale agents in town.

When the French Revolution of 1830 found an echo also in Switzerland, the Jesuits had so firmly established themselves in that canton, that the storm passed harmlessly by them. The rule of the patricians was destroyed, but that of the Jesuits remained in all its old glory, because it was founded on the ignorance and moral neglect of the masses, who were now in possession of the sovereign power. The new members of the government of Friburg were, like their predecessors, obedient servants of the pious fathers. They showed it already in the first years of their power, by the introduction of the *female Jesuits*, whose presence the canton had hitherto been spared. Without the knowledge or consent of the Grand Council, the lesser Council granted (1831) the establishment of a convent for the "sisters of the sacred heart of Jesus" in the immediate vicinity of the Jesuit noviciate at Staefis, under the feigned name of

an "Establishment for Young Ladies." No one dared to oppose it.

The July Revolution could indeed but slightly affect the Jesuits in Switzerland, where they had taken so deep root. Since the Restoration of 1815, they had been in the closest and most intimate intercourse with the papal Board of nuncios, whose approval they possessed in all their movements in the Helvetic Confederation, tending to reduce the country to its former allegiance to the pope, and to annihilate those rights which the state had reserved for itself in church matters. Experience had, moreover, taught the pious fathers that the most efficacious means of bringing government and people under the yoke of church absolutism, consisted in the conjuring up the dark ghost of religious hatred. As soon as governments or the people are affected by the fanatical whim to hate and persecute all those who differ from them in religious belief, their own rights and independence soon and easily become a prey to the sly priests, who have fevered their brain to that paroxysm. For that reason, Loyola's disciples have always found it expedient to keep up the flame of religious hatred, not only because they felt themselves inspired with that

same hostile sentiment against the Protestants, but chiefly because the people and their rulers, by losing sight of all worldly claims and rights, in their hot pursuit of eternal merits and rewards, afford them (the Jesuits) the safest opportunity of carrying into effect their own arrogant aspirations.

In Switzerland, as in all other countries, during the absence of the Jesuits, all confessional enmities had been extinguished, and peace and harmony restored in all parts of the confederation. No sooner, however, had the pious fathers trodden again the Swiss soil, than they rekindled the fire of religious intolerance, in order to excite and confuse the minds and hearts of the Catholic inhabitants, and render them blind instruments for the realisation of their own ambitious views. Already in the first year (1818) of their arrival in Switzerland, they renewed the celebration of the anniversary of the victory gained by the Catholics over the Protestants in the battle at Villmer (1656), which festival had been abolished ever since 1798. They employed in addition, the press and their missionaries, to rouse throughout Catholic Switzerland the evil spirit of discord and schism. Innumerable copies of so-called religious tracts were

distributed among all classes of society, calculated to instil into the mind of the readers gross superstition, bigotry, and intolerance. In 1822, the notorious Jesuit Van Wyenbergh had founded a separate order called the *Catholic*, for the purpose of assisting the Jesuits in the work of destruction. By such demoniac manœuvres, all the civil right enjoyed by the Protestants in the Catholic cantons were denounced as being so many premiums upon heresy. Even the permission accorded by the government of Luzern, in 1827, to the Protestant inhabitants, of building a church of their own, was considered by the Catholics in the whole confederation as a step towards encouraging infidelity. Indeed, every measure adopted by government to introduce reform and improvement in the internal affairs of the country, and more especially in education and public instruction, was represented to the Catholic inhabitants as an attempt to overthrow the creed of their fathers, and substitute for it the doctrines of Zwingli.

It was to be foreseen that, should the liberal governments of the cantons, which had been remodelled by the revision of the constitution in 1829 and 1830, succeed in their efforts to introduce reforms in

the administration and institutions of their respective cantons, there would be an end to Jesuitism, and all church abuses and intrigues in Switzerland. At that period, the Confederate Governments were indeed seriously thinking of introducing into Switzerland the process of European civilisation, to which that union had been a stranger for nearly a whole century; and the surest way of attaining that desirable end, was justly thought to be found in a thorough reform of the public schools and colleges. This plan had filled the Jesuits with such horror, that they put in motion all the organs they could muster to annihilate the liberal governments, or to check at least their progressive movements. They found very willing and ready allies in the old conservative cantons, as also in the fallen aristocracy of the new ones. At the head of liberalism, stood the governments of Luzern and Solothurn (two purely Catholic cantons), of St. Gaul, with its preponderating protestant population, and of Aargau, with a mixed population of nearly an equal number of Catholics and Protestants. They became, in consequence, the theatres of the jesuitical and ultra-montane intrigues. The opponents began with denouncing from the pulpits, and in the confessionals,

some particular members of those governments as infidels and atheists, and with inciting the people against the proposed improvements in schools, as tending to expose and endanger the Catholic religion. In Solothurn, a petition to the Grand Council was set on foot, and brought into circulation for signatures, praying for the retention not only of the existing professors at the Lyceum and the university, (who were all filled with the spirit of Jesuitism,) but also of the existing old plan and method of education. Finding but little encouragement in the process of lawful agitation, the Jesuits had recourse to more hazardous means, to intimidate government by religious outbreaks. Their manœuvres, however, proved this time unsuccessful; in 1832, the reforms and improvements proposed to be introduced into the schools were brought into force without much difficulty. Similar and even worse attempts at disturbances were made by the Jesuits and their friends also in the other new cantons, which equally failed. At Luzern, a "Catholic Union" was established in 1831, which soon spread all over Switzerland. The main object of the union, was to sow the dragon-seed of religious hatred, and to rear and

nourish in the minds of the people the fear and alarm of religious danger. The union was also occupied with another task, with the suppression of all liberal books and journals on the one hand, and with the diffusion of cheap and even gratuitous writings, composed in the spirit of ultramontane and jesuitical principles on the other, as also with influencing the votes of the citizens at the coming elections. The statutes of the union imposed in unequivocal terms the duty upon the members, to give their votes at the election of the Grand Council only to such candidates who were to be pointed out to them by the Jesuits, Capuchins, or other Catholic priests. Its operations were greatly facilitated by the considerable funds at its command, which had been collected by contributions from high and low.

The Loyolites and their adherents were still more stimulated to active schemes in Switzerland, by the famous Baden conference. In that conference, Luzern, Bern, Aargau, Thurgau, St. Gaul, Basle, and Zürich, had agreed to preserve their rights in all church and episcopate matters against the encroaching pretensions of the pope. Though these resolutions did not materially differ from the ecclesiastical

regulations existing in most of the other Catholic countries, Pope Gregory XVI. condemned them in a circular (17th May, 1833) addressed to the clergy of the Helvetic Confederation, as "false, impertinent, and erroneous, as tending to lessen the rights of the holy chair, to overthrow the church and her divine regulations, and subjugate it to the rule of the secular power, which is derived from erroneous doctrines, is aiming at heresies, and is schismatical." The whole ultramontane host of believers in Switzerland were set in motion, to give emphatic effect to the judgment and opinion of the holy father. We need hardly mention, that no one was more busy in raising among the Catholics the general cry of "religious danger" than our pious fathers; they partly succeeded in intimidating the majority of the liberal governments, who were particularly afraid lest the great powers, and more especially France, should interfere in behalf of Rome. This timid anxiety may well be excused, when we consider that the papal nunciature, in conjunction with the Jesuits and their abettors, had it then in contemplation to stir up a religious civil war in Switzerland, in opposition to the Baden conference. It was the Swiss

“Church Gazette,” (published by the ultramontane party at Luzern,) which first reminded the public, in October, 1835, of the so-called “*golden treaty*,” concluded between Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Luzern, Solothurn and Friburg, in 1586, for the maintenance of the Catholic church in Switzerland. The praises which were lavished in that gazette upon the memory of those men who had taken the most active part in kindling the wild fire of religious war in those early times, and the republication of the controversial pamphlets which had been distributed among the masses in those bygone periods, amply betrayed the object the party had in view, and what they were aiming at. These inimical demonstrations were accompanied by the departure of the nuncio *Angelio* and the whole of his chancellery from Luzern (November, 1835), a step that is usually considered by the laws of nations as a declaration of war. He quitted his post, by the direction of his master, without even taking leave of the local authorities, and removed to Schwyz, where the Jesuits and the aristocracy had already made very powerful progress.

The Loyolites had in the previous centuries made several but ineffectual attempts to get a firm footing

in Schwyz, the largest of the original cantons. The last attempt of the kind had been in 1758, when the governor Augustin Reding, one of the most wealthy and notable personages of the canton, had offered 80,000 florins, his own mansion, and several acres of land, for the erection of a Jesuit college in Schwyz. He promised, moreover, one florin, as a bribe, to every individual who would vote for the admission of the Jesuits, to which gratuity the high bailiff, Ulrich, had added another of ten shillings per head. Notwithstanding all these extraordinary efforts and foul means, the National Assembly (at that time the supreme power in the state) rejected the offer of Reding, and even enacted a law, interdicting by hard penalties any attempt to introduce the Jesuit question in the canton. The people of Schwyz were at that time of opinion, that "it might be far better and more pleasing to God, if the rich Mr. Reding would build a poor union and repair the parish church. The poor natives would certainly feel more grateful to him than do the gentlemen Jesuits." But the views of the Schwyz people in the nineteenth century were quite different on that point. The alliance which was concluded here between the

aristocracy and the hierarchy, for the reclamation of their prerogatives, had so increased the power and influence of the clergy, that not a vestige was left of the once anti-jesuitical and independent feeling of the people. This was particularly seen after the papal nuncio had fixed his abode amongst them. Quite overpowered by the mighty honour of the presence of the nuncio, the Schwyz National Assembly resolved (May, 1836) to comply with the wish of the latter, and establish a Jesuit college in the capital of the canton. A committee was formed of ecclesiastical and secular members, to procure the necessary funds for the purpose. An appeal made (June) to the pious public of the various cantons and foreign states was quickly responded to in the most liberal manner. Within a very short time, the requisite sum of 150,000 francs had flowed in from Friburg, Luzern, Aargau, and St. Gaul, as also from Rome, France, and Sardinia. The Schwyz government, not to be behind in the liberal race, presented the Loyolites with the Gymnasium of Schwyz, together with its endowment funds, and to which it subsequently added also a contribution of 8000 francs. The

pious fathers were thus enabled to open the establishment on the 1st November, 1836, under the presidency of Pater John Battist Drach. The then professors of the Gymnasium, consisting of lay clergy, were obliged to resign without receiving the least indemnification. Encouraged by the facility with which the 150,000 francs had been procured, as also by the increasing number of the new students, (amounting in 1837 to 229,) another sum of 100,000 francs was voted by the same committee in May, 1839, for the purpose of establishing a Jesuit boarding-school after the model of that at Friburg. Also that amount was soon got together by a sort of joint-stock scrips. Not satisfied with emptying their pockets in behalf of the disciples of St. Ignatius, the Schwyz even put their shoulders to the wheel, and literally assisted with their own hands to build the new boarding-school and Jesuit church. The inhabitants of the village of Schwyz, and other small places, rivalled in enthusiasm, or rather fanaticism, to collect and carry to the proper spots on every Sunday and other holy days, the vast quantities of bricks and stones requisite for the buildings. Even the women, girls, and children helped in the task of

dragging large blocks of granite for the erection of a Jesuit stronghold in the canton.

Schwyz thus became the real hearth of the jesuitical and ultra-montane intrigues, the effects of which were soon felt by the liberal governments of the neighbouring cantons, and more especially at Luzern, Aargau, and Solothurn. But what particularly promoted the further triumphs of the Loyolites was their relation to the ultra-democratic party, as also the revolution of September, 1839, in the canton Zürich, the work of the same Machiavellian party. The Jesuits and their adherents had long since felt, that the alliance which they had concluded after the disturbances of 1830, with the fallen aristocracy of the new Catholic cantons, did not answer their anticipations. They therefore resolved to steer on the opposite tack, and rather ally themselves with the *sovereign people*, whom they had already tied to the leading strings of fanaticism and religious hatred. These expedients were, strange as it may appear, by no means new to the Loyolites. They had in earlier times seized the banner of the "sovereignty of the people" to serve their own purposes and enslave the very *sovereign* multitude to

whom they were swearing allegiance. The Jesuits know very well, that a super-orthodox and fanatical democracy may as blindly be led by confessors and monkish intrigues, as are petty princes and a poor aristocracy, and they have not neglected to act upon that presumption in all countries where the people either were already, or strove to come into possession of the sovereign power of the state. By a most remarkable coincidence, the Jesuits were met in Switzerland by the same manœuvre on the part of the Protestants, after a reaction had taken place in their favour. In some of the Protestant cantons the reduced aristocracy had also (1830) fallen upon the expedient of allying itself with the reactionary clergy, to expel the odious liberalism from state, church, and school. Having failed in this scheme, the aristocracy had likewise recourse to the alliance of the multitude. Neither was the Jesuit and ultra-montane party slow in recognising good and serviceable allies in the bigoted Protestants, with whom they now made common cause to annihilate the liberal governments by means of the anarchical power of the masses. The scheming portion of the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, were always in the fore-

ground of the agitating stage; they represented in their sermons, journals, and pamphlets, the liberal governments and institutions as irreligious, immoral, and unchristian, while the reformed and improved schools were denounced by them as "*nurseries of impiety and infidelity.*" The aristocracy was, on the other hand, extolled as the "elect friends of the Saviour," who generously endeavoured to save for the people their most sacred treasure, their religion. To lend to these machinations the appearance of national liberty, a great deal was said of the justice of introducing an uncontrolled municipal administration, as the primary requisite of national liberty, of re-establishing corporations and chartered companies, of expelling foreigners from native interests, and all such sorts of egotistical prejudices so palatable to the unthinking multitude.

The effects of that line of policy, adopted in common by the Catholic and Protestant clergy, soon manifested themselves in the ignominious revolution at Zürich in 1839. The liberal government of Zürich had, in January of that year, appointed as Professor of Church History and Dogmatics, Dr. Strauss, of Tübingen, a decided opponent of orthodox reli-

gion, and well known in Europe by his work, "The Life of Jesus." The appointment was made in opposition to the theological faculty, and was no doubt a too hasty and hazardous step on the part of government; it gave edge and point to the accusations of the church party, who now had the best opportunity of apparently substantiating their grievances in the eyes of the public. Measures were taken to excite the fanaticism of the country people; and though government, aware of the error committed, had already withdrawn the appointment, 15,000 peasants entered Zürich on the 6th of September, 1839, where, having expelled the liberal authorities, they delivered the reins of government into the hands of the aristocracy. The triumph with which the Loyolites and their adherents saluted the victory of reaction at Zürich, the warm thanks and congratulations sent from Rome to the home of Zwingli on the happy result of the eventful attempt, plainly showed the internal machinery of the whole movement against liberalism, and the intriguing assistance given by the Jesuits and ultramontane votaries in that insurrection. The Bishop of Friburg, who was entirely ruled by the Jesuits, even issued a circular letter to

the Swiss Protestants, in which, after referring to the "*marvellous events*" in the canton Zürich, he called upon them to return into the bosom of the only-saving church. The effects of the Zürich revolution on the cause of liberty and education in Switzerland, and particularly in the Catholic cantons, were incalculably great. The Jesuits and the Catholic clergy began to agitate the people everywhere for their own cause. Under their protection, and with their help, the liberal authorities in the various new cantons, and more especially at the elections of the grand councils, lost their posts, and were replaced by individuals from the very dregs of society, who were blindly guided and led by the sly agitators. The constitutions or laws were soon revised and barbarised in the theocratico-ochlocratic or aristocratic spirit. Under the adopted system of religious intolerance, every free direction in religion became extinct, and the whole power of reaction was directed against education, and more particularly against the new national schools, as the nursery of civilisation, while the least opposition to these nefarious achievements was met by a direct appeal to the frenzy and physical force of the masses.

The canton Luzern was the first to feel most bitterly the victory and the ascendancy of the Jesuits, the zeal of the liberal governments for education and national instruction having long since yielded to the fear of the ultramontane party. Already, in November, 1839, a certain Leu Ebersol, leader of that party in the Grand Council of Luzern, had made a motion to transfer the college of that place, according to the custom of their forefathers, to the society of Jesus. The Grand Council, it is true, took no notice of the motion, but the Loyolites and their friends managed in 1841 to have a new Council elected, the members of which, being adherents of Leu Ebersol and the Jesuits, soon wrought a radical revision in the constitution and statutes of the canton. This remarkable peasant of Luzern, this Leu Ebersol and his compeer, Kost, a subsequent member of the government, being the most influential personages in the state, were the visible and nominal movers of the insurrection, though, in point of fact, only the blind instruments of the Jesuits and other intolerant priests. As in all the other cantons, so also in Luzern, "*Strauss and the Straussites*" became a formidable weapon in the hands of the

papists against the liberals, and more especially after Hürliman had asserted (December, 1840), in the Grand Council of Zürich, that the "radicals had purported, by the appointment of Strauss, the overthrow of the Catholic church in Switzerland;" a calumny which none of the present Protestant members seemed disposed to contradict. The ultramontane party would, however, not so easily have succeeded in upsetting the liberal government of Luzern, had they not been assisted by the treachery of some members of the government itself, and more especially by its recorder, Siegwart Müller, who systematically misled the liberals to false steps, and involved them in numerous difficulties, by recommending to them ultraradical measures of extreme absurdity. These various intrigues in Luzern were still more facilitated by the abolition of the cloisters (1841) in Aargau, where the ultramontane party, in conjunction with the Jesuits, had likewise incited the people against government, in order to bring about a separation between the Catholic and Protestant districts of the canton. A liberal revision of the constitution having been executed, the Catholic party ventured upon an open insurrection (10th January), which was,

however, soon quelled. As it was known that the inmates of the Aargau cloisters had been instrumental to the disturbances, the government decreed, a few days afterwards, the abolition of the cloisters. The step, though excusable, was nevertheless impolitic; it was easily to be foreseen, that great advantage would be taken of it by the opponents, at the ensuing revision of the constitution of Luzern.

The priests, in league with the old aristocracy, succeeded also in Luzern, in persuading the simple-minded people that their religion was in danger, and in enraging them against the liberal government and the better educated classes. Under such relations, a new constitution appeared in May, 1841, in Luzern, which might justly be termed a theocratico-ochlocratic one. This constitution not only sacrificed to the clergy all the rights which the government had previously possessed in church matters, but actually delivered the whole power of the state into the hands of the clergy. The new elected Council even submitted the constitution to the inspection and approval of the pope (25th August, 1841), an act unparalleled in the history of the Confederation.

The political and civil rights of the canton were henceforth to be conceded to the Roman Catholics alone, while all the offices of the administration, high and low, were exclusively filled with the obedient servants of Jesuitism and ultramontaneism. Luzern now possessed statesmen who could hardly read and write. The new Luzern constitution contained, amongst others, the democratic provision that the people should have the right to give their *veto* against the introduction of new societies. Though it would thus seem that the ruling party had given up the notion of inviting the Jesuits to the canton, it was, however, quite different in point of fact; nay, the very clause only showed, how sure the party was of being able to obtain anything the Catholic clergy might wish for, despite the power reposed in the people. Before even the close of the same year (9th Dec. 1841), Leu Ebersol, and eight other members of the Grand Council, moved for the recall of the Loyolites to Luzern, where they were to be intrusted with the educational establishments in the canton. The Jesuit question thus became the main political theme of the Luzern legislature, while in a few years afterwards, it occupied the legislatures of the whole

of the Helvetic Confederation. It is, however, remarkable, and speaks volumes against the order, that the government of Luzern, despite its timid character and most servile submission to Rome, had pronounced itself unanimously and most positively against the admission of the Jesuits, in its message (Sept. 1842) to the Grand Council. More divided in opinion were the members of the Board of Education. The result of the motion in the Grand Council was, that the latter instructed the government to collect information and report on the life, conduct, and character of the Jesuits, as also on the conditions under which the latter would be inclined to undertake the conduct of the higher schools. The friends of the party in government managed to decide the Board to confine the information to be collected only to official notices, to such only as had been given by the secular and spiritual authorities, who were known to be the warmest friends of the order. Applications were thus made on the subject to the governments of Schwyz and Friburg, to Metternich, and to some Helvetic and Austrian bishops, who, it was to be foreseen, would speak favourably of the order. And such was really

the case. The recall of the Jesuits to Luzern was, however, more the effect of their own exertions than of the favourable reports of their friends. To beat their foes entirely from the field, the pious fathers visited every place in the canton as missionaries, kindling in the minds of the populace overpowering fanaticism for the order, which made them regard the settlement of the fathers as the most sacred concern of every good Catholic. About two thirds of the Luzern clergy—whose previous love of the Jesuits had greatly cooled down by the events in Sardinia and Belgium, as also by the excessive imperiousness shown by the Loyolites at that period in some parts of Switzerland—had drawn up a petition to the Grand Council, praying to rescind the resolution for the recall of the Loyolites; but Esterman, bishop of the diocese Basle, and a great patron of the order, forbade the clergy under him to join in the request, and the petition was thus never given in.

Before, however, the Jesuit question was quite terminated in Luzern, events took place in Switzerland which ought to have impressed the minds of all impartial men with the immense danger to which the confederation was exposing itself by the admission

of the Jesuits. By the machinations of the latter, a separate and special treaty (Sonderbund) was concluded between the three original cantons, Friburg, Zug, and Luzern, which virtually dissolved the general union-treaty of the confederation. This separate treaty was not unlike the notorious "golden alliance," which had been concluded some 250 years previously. To strengthen that union by the accession of the Catholic cantons, Tessin and Valais, the partisans laboured with untiring zeal to upset the liberal governments there. The conspiracy in Tessin was soon discovered and frustrated, while in Valais it succeeded to a frightful extent. This canton, as we have mentioned above, was the first to re-introduce the Loyolites into their old domiciles, where they had remained for twenty-five years (from 1814 to 1839), the real guides and counsellors of the old aristocracy. But notwithstanding their endeavours to stifle in its birth every rising sentiment of freedom, and all intellectual impulses in this sequestered land—which is so separated on all sides from the rest of the civilised world by high rocks and lofty mountains—the Jesuits were unable to prevent at least some glimmering light of the new spirit of

the age penetrating even into this dark spot of ignorance and bigotry. Lower Valais, inhabited by intelligent and lively people, succeeded in bringing about (1839), with the assistance of its capital, Sitten, a revision of the constitution; while the archbigoted and conservative Upper Valaisians showed resistance, but were obliged, after their defeat near Sitten (April, 1840), to submit to the rule of liberal statesmen who had now come to the head of the administration. The chief attention of the new government was now directed towards the emancipation of the canton from the dominion of priesthood, and more especially of the Jesuits, as also towards sharing in the general interests of the confederation. No sooner, however, had government put hand to the new work of curtailing the extravagant privileges and immunities of the clergy,* and of introducing improvements in the national schools, than the

* The priests possessed a privileged jurisdiction, not only in civil, but also in criminal affairs. "There is no instance on record of a punishment inflicted upon a priest. Fraud, highway robbery, and infanticide were perpetrated by priests; and the bishop, after having arrested such criminals, allowed them to escape from prison."—*Snell*, "Manual of the Swiss States Right," II., 846.

clergy, headed by the order of St. Ignatius, entered openly the lists against government. Already, towards the end of 1842, the Administration was decried from all pulpits as uncatholic and irreligious; while its decrees concerning school improvements and distribution of military taxes, by which the exemption of the clergy from the burden was greatly restricted, were denounced as so many open attacks upon religion itself. The Jesuits travelled, moreover, through the whole country as missionaries, making the people swear that they would rise *en masse* at the very first summons of the clergy. In the interval between the election of the Grand Council (1843), the priests and Jesuits neglected no opportunity of obtaining the majority in their own sense and spirit. Spreading suspicious rumours against the character of the truly independent electors who would not bend their knees to them, circulating slanderous imputations against the liberals, who, they said, were bent upon abolishing the Catholic religion, in order to force upon the people the odious Protestant creed, open bribery, and even assassination, were the weapons by which they tried and obtained the victory. Thenceforth, the majority of the Grand Council was com-

posed of men entirely devoted to the interests of the black-coats.

But the complete annihilation of the liberal party fell to the task of the aristocracy of Valais, aided by the clergy. In August, 1843, a *coup de main* had been attempted, but failed. To secure success, the separate and special Catholic alliance (Sonderbund) mentioned above, was called into action. In Luzern, an organised attack upon the liberals completely succeeded (May, 1844). The liberals were totally beaten in the battle near Trient, and few escaped the sword but by flying into the canton of Vaud. As usual, the victory of the Jesuits and their party—the expenses of which had been defrayed by the missionary society at Lyons—was taken advantage of with jesuitical cruelty. The capital, Sitten, was for a long time kept in a state of siege, the whole liberal party disarmed, and the constitutional liberty of speech and the press, as also the association right, were suppressed. A special commission was in addition appointed to judge the “rebels,” before whom, after having been dismissed their posts, nearly all the liberal members of the Grand Council were arraigned as private individuals

implicated in conspiracy and high treason. The liberal communities were fined with heavy war taxes, while all sorts of violence and cruelties were practised upon the unoffending members of all classes. By the new constitution framed for the canton (Sept. 1844), under the auspices of the Bishop of Sitten and the Jesuits, the power of the priesthood was more than ever consolidated, and theocratical intolerance carried so far, as even to interdict divine service at home to the few remaining Protestants in the canton. Bishop de Preux, pupil of the German college at Rome, and Dean de Rivaz, said in the Grand Council: "The maxim of reciprocal tolerance militates against the fundamental laws of the Catholic church, which cannot exercise tolerance towards the Protestants, she being the only true one; but the Protestant church, as she is not the only true one, cannot refuse tolerance to the former."

Immensely great was the excitement throughout Switzerland, caused by the above events in Valais, which was forced to accede to the special alliance (Sonderbund). It became evident that a religious and civil war must sooner or later break out in the confederation, if the society of Jesus, the chief

instigators of agitation and insurrection, were not speedily removed from the country. In numerous meetings, societies, general assemblies, and in many addresses to the Grand Councils of the various cantons, it was resolved, argued, and prayed for the banishment of the order. The Catholic director of the Aargau seminary, Keller, was the first who had the courage to bring the matter under discussion in the Grand Council of Aargau. His proposition (29th May, 1844) to move in the forthcoming general Diet for the expulsion of the Jesuits, was carried by a majority of 123 against 42 votes. The motion was, however, negatived (19th August, 1844) in the general Diet, Basle alone having shown insight and patriotism in the affair, by seconding the Aargau motion. How many sad experiences would not Switzerland have been spared, if her rulers had then comprehended the spirit of the age, and possessed sufficient courage to eradicate in proper time the growing cancer in Swiss life. In the midst of the alarm and consternation produced in the minds of the majority of the Swiss population by the miscarriage of that motion, Luzern, as if in derision of these feelings, resolved to allow the Jesuits to settle

in due form in the canton. Even the lesser council or government of Luzern, which, as late as the close of 1843, had opposed the recall of the Jesuits, as incompatible with the constitution of the canton, and more particularly as regarded the claim of the provincial of the order, Pater Rothenflue, to render the order entirely independent of the power of the state—even the government, we say, was not ashamed ten months afterwards (September, 1844) to conclude a special treaty with the same provincial, to the effect that the theological seminary, college, and other branch institutions were to be transferred to the disciples of St. Ignatius. By another clause in the same treaty, every “father” was to receive from the public treasury an annual allowance of 750 francs, besides lodgings and other domestic comforts. As the Grand Council had, however, refused to acknowledge their independence of the state, Pater Rothenflue was obliged to yield that point, and vow to submit to the control of the Board of Education—a promise which subsequently proved to be ineffectual. A clause which had been smuggled into the treaty, allowing the Jesuits *to live and act according to the rules of their order*, indisputably annulled the former

provision. Blind and implicit obedience to the mandates of their superior, being the fundamental rule of the order, the members were not, of course, bound to comply with the instructions of the Board, whenever they clashed with the sovereign commands of their general. There was, however, another tribunal still left to effect the banishment of the order—the *tribunal of the people*—whose *veto* was to operate as a law, according to the provision in the constitution. That no means, fair and foul, moral and physical, were neglected by the Jesuits and their party to dispose the people in their favour, or to invalidate the votes of the liberals, we need not mention. The fatal termination of the liberal cause by the battle at Trient, however, so intimidated the majority of the poor electors, that they dared not register their votes against the Jesuits, without the risk of being treated as “*rebels*,” or at least as friends of the “liberal traitors.”

Had the rulers now acted in a generous manner, they might have morally strengthened their cause, and introduced their beloved Jesuits into the canton without further difficulty or complaint. But, inspired by the “pious fathers” with the dark spirit of ven-

geance, the Grand Council abused their victory in a most barbarous manner, by being bent upon destroying, root and trunk, all the anti-jesuitical elements in the canton. The reign of terror which now prevailed in the canton forced several thousand individuals to emigrate to other parts of the confederation. The sympathy with which they met wherever they arrived, and the still greater compassion evinced for their ill-treated or imprisoned brethren at home, soon assumed the character of extreme indignation against the deplorable cowardice manifested by the General Diet, which had been convoked by the new Vorort Zürich (24th Feb. 1845). The Diet had declined to interfere in matters connected with the reign of terror at Luzern, and refused even to protest against the introduction of the Jesuits into that canton, though it was well known, that all the mischief done in the canton was solely the work of the Jesuits, who were now threatening the whole confederation with civil war and even dissolution. The result of the weakness shown by the Diet, was a second expedition of the liberals (1st April, 1845) against the Luzern reign of terror, which proved not more successful than the previous.

The cruelties again committed on the vanquished, beggar all description, and only show the deep feeling of hostility to which these "*simple children of the mountains*" have become wedded by the instigation of the Jesuits and priesthood, who alone were the authors of those horrible misdeeds, by having represented the liberals as atheists and Jacobines, who had come to rob them of their greatest treasure, the religion of their fathers. Exactly five months after this second victory (1st November, 1845) the Jesuits were solemnly installed in the capital of the canton. In the address delivered on that occasion by the director of Luzern, Siegwart-Müller, it was said, amongst other things, that "no power, in whatever guise, by whatever cunning, fraud, or even the sword, will ever be able to destroy the order. It is built upon God and his Church; it stands under the protection of the state and under the patronage of a sovereign people, while it bears within itself the most potent guarantees for lasting existence."

These boastful prophecies were, however, destined not to be fulfilled. The very triumph of the Jesuits and their party in Luzern, laid the foundation for

events which not only caused the fall of the order and the whole ultramontane party in Switzerland; but even changed the whole aspect and character of the Swiss confederation. While, on the one hand, the *Sonderbund*, under the guidance of the Loyolites, was arming itself for further extension of its rights, threatening civil war and a total separation from the confederation, the eyes of even the zealous Catholics were, on the other hand, opened to the mischievous workings of the order, and public opinion in the majority of the cantons pronounced itself most decidedly on the subject. It had become too evident to be doubted, that the Jesuits, those foreign intruders, intended not only to form the cantons governed by them, into a separate independent union, but also to conquer and subjugate afterwards, through these cantons, the whole confederation collectively. In April, 1846, the Diet met and discussed about the banishment of the Jesuits and the suppression of the *Sonderbund*, but could not come to a final resolution. The efforts of the middle classes were now directed in nearly all the cantons to the chief point—to bring to the helm of the state, men of decided liberal principles and opinions. At Zürich, Berne, and

Basle, the object in view was effected in a quiet and constitutional way, while in Geneva it only succeeded by means of a sanguinary revolution. In consequence of these changes, the Diet passed (July, 1847) the resolution, that the *Sonderbund* was an illegal union, and must therefore be dissolved. On the other hand, the seven Sonderbund cantons—Luzern, Friburg, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, and Valais, declared that they were resolved to oppose that decision by all the might in their power. As it was well known that this illegal and daring opposition was solely the work of the Jesuits and their friends, the Diet ordered (5th Sept. 1847) the total banishment of the Loyolites from the confederation. As may be supposed, the latter were far from obeying the order, and appealed to the sentiments of their protecting cantons. This resistance was the more unjustifiable, and even venturesome, when we consider that the whole population of Switzerland consists of 1,953,000 Protestants and only 980,000 Catholics, of which latter number only 427,000 belonged to the Sonderbund, and even one-third of this small number ranked amongst the liberal party. The sly fathers were probably not ignorant of the mispro-

portion of their supporters, but they set their hopes on the European diplomacy, on the succour to be tendered to them by the political combinations of some of the European courts. It was Louis Philippe and Metternich in particular, who approved of this jesuitical conspiracy against the legitimate power of Switzerland, in order to weaken once more the political development of that confederation. They not only encouraged and supported the Sonderbund by words and means, but they also prevented Pope Pius IX. from interfering in the affair, while they threw, in addition, all sorts of obstacles, by threats and intrigues, in the way of the executive power, not to allow the decision of the Diet to be carried into effect. The Diet, however, remained firm and acted up to its resolution, despite all those hindrances; and public opinion in Europe was not slow in applauding the measure in the face of cabinets and diplomatists. All attempts at reconciliation being exhausted, the Diet confirmed (4th Nov. 1847) its previous resolutions, and ordered the confederate army into the field, which soon destroyed the whole fabric of the Sonderbund and the jesuitical machinery. The canton Friburg was the first

to be vanquished by the confederate army, and on the 19th November (1847) the provisional government of that canton decreed, that all the Jesuits, and their branch and kindred societies, should be banished from the land, and their property confiscated for the benefit of the public exchequer. Luzern, and with it the whole of the Sonderbund, having submitted, after a defeat at the battle (on the 2nd November) near Gislikonbrücke, issued decrees to the same effect, while in Schwyz the people even indulged in excesses against the Jesuit establishments as soon as they saw the sad turn which affairs were taking in the other rebellious cantons. As for the Loyolites, they did not wait for extremes, but decamped everywhere with their portable treasures at the approach of danger, across the frontier, to France, Italy, and Germany. In the revised constitution of Luzern (13th Feb. 1848) it was specially provided, "That the Jesuits and their affiliated orders were never more to be received in the canton under any form or pretence whatever."

THE JESUITS SINCE THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

WITH their banishment from Switzerland, the punishment of the Jesuits was far from being exhausted. The civilised world in Europe was enabled by that political drama in Switzerland, to apprehend the exact extent of the diabolic power and the whole machinery of the order. Europe has learned, that the pious fathers of the nineteenth century were, like their predecessors in the previous centuries, the same daring and sworn enemies of moral and political liberty, of peace and quiet development of states and nations. It wanted indeed but the least agitation, the least clashing contact in society, to see the Jesuits experience also in other countries the retributions with which they were visited in Switzerland. The glorious victory which the confederation had won, not only over the Jesuits and Catholic priesthood, but also over the despotic policy of Metternich and his colleagues, no doubt contributed much to the almost general rise in Europe in 1848—a year in which

also the order of St. Ignatius was fated to experience the wrath and revenge of the Catholic nations on the one hand, and the weakness, fall, and vicissitudes of its previous patrons and supporters on the other. As we have already observed, it was the Swiss events in particular, which brought to maturity the outbreak of the February revolution in France, by which the Jesuits were for a while scared away from the country. The carelessness of the republican Government, it is true, allowed them a few loopholes, whence they could act upon the southern provinces in particular; but the total change which has since taken place in the dynasty of the French monarchy, has also paralysed their zeal and efforts in that quarter, and hardly anything important has since been heard of their operations in that land of their previous adventures and golden harvests.

From the rise of Italy, which immediately followed the February revolution in France, resulted one of the most remarkable phenomena in Catholic history, the ignominious, though only temporary, destruction of the order in the very heart of the Catholic world. The movement against the order, whose immense influence during the pontificate of Gregory XVI. had

weighed so heavily upon the whole of Italy, nay, upon the whole of Catholic Christendom, had virtually begun with the accession of Pius IX. (16th June, 1846) and his reforms in the church states. Both the clergy and the people hated the Jesuits, not only for their lust of money and dominion, but also and chiefly for their alliance and co-operation with the Austrian policy; they were regarded as enemies of all national, political, and even social development. It became clear, that it was only the order, with its affiliated societies, which had put unsurpassable obstacles in the way of the new pope's reformatory efforts, and rendered his measures uncertain and vacillating. The personal position of Pius IX. towards the powerful order was one of great difficulty. Little as he liked them, he was compelled to treat the members with delicacy and the utmost indulgence, and even to observe a strict neutrality in the affairs of Switzerland, in order to preserve his own life, tiara, and power. It was only after the events in Italy had begun to menace his own worldly position, that Pius IX. had ventured upon the decisive step against the Jesuit order, whose members (by the by), though maltreated and banished for a

while even from Austria and Italy, soon found their way back again, with the restoration of order and the reactionary change in these countries.

The (compulsory) political conversion of king Charles Albert, the revolution in Sardinia, and the insurrection of Lombardy against the Austrian sovereignty, had, in the month of March 1848, freed Upper Italy of the disciples of Loyola. Already, in February of the same year, the popular movement in Sardinia, and more especially at Turin, against the Jesuits, had assumed such a threatening character, that government enjoined (2nd March) the pious fathers to quit their establishments with the least noise possible. The same evening, sad excesses were committed by the mob in the Jesuit college at Turin, while a few days afterwards, the fathers were forcibly expelled from their settlement at Chieri, a small town near Turin. Simultaneously with these occurrences, public rage had also broken out at Genoa against the Jesuits, who were considered by the people as the enemies and traitors of the national cause. After the February revolution in France, the Genoese saw almost every day Jesuit refugees arrive at their shores, whither also those from the Sardinian pro-

vinces had made their way, sure of the protection of the Genoese government, and a hospitable reception by their colleagues there, with whom they intended to form a compact resisting body against the stormy times. The Genoese Jesuits had even declared to government that they were willing to send to the field at their own cost 700 bayonets, a declaration which no doubt tended to increase still more the popular indignation against them. On the evening of the 1st of March, when another batch of more than twenty paters were expected to arrive, the crowds moved towards the square of the Jesuit college, and having forced the latter, and found the inmates flown, they vented their feelings on the monastic wardrobe, the cowls, girdles, dresses, &c., of the Jesuits, which they hurled *pêle mêle* into the open road. Among the documents and correspondence found in the college, were also sketches of march routes, cross-ways, and by-paths—sketches which highly compromised the Jesuits, evidencing their connection with the Austrian government. It was also ascertained that the paters had received large sums of money from men of high rank, to be employed for political purposes, of which sums 84,000 lire had been spent by

them in the last two months for *secret services*. Since the commencement of the catastrophe, the fathers had, however, been taken safely, together with their treasures, by the governor of the place, to a ship in the harbour, where they remained secure from bodily violence. It is said, that the documents and other papers found in the dwellings of the Jesuits had greatly contributed to the line of policy adopted by Charles Albert towards Austria, and that also Pius IX. had entirely withdrawn (for awhile) his protection from the order, in consequence of these documentary revelations. On the 19th of July, 1848, the Sardinian Chamber decreed the permanent expulsion of the order or orders from the kingdom. The native Jesuits alone were allowed to remain on a small pay, if they consented to be secularised. The property of the order was confiscated for the public treasury.

Also at Naples, the month of March 1848 proved inauspicious to the Jesuits. In the midst of the political agitation, the Jesuits were not forgotten, and their friend, Ferdinand II., found it even necessary to counsel Pater Roothaan to withdraw his subordinates from Naples, their presence being irreconcilable with the new constitution of the country. The

paters, however, were slow to act upon the advice, until they saw that thousands of the mob were daily crowding before their dwellings, hissing, hooting and whistling, as a sort of preparation for serious deeds of real harm and injury; they then thought it more safe to quit the capital before it was too late. On the 11th of March they repaired in thirty carriages, under the protection of an armed soldiery, but also under the threats of the crowds, to the harbour, where they embarked, but lingered for some time about the coast.

Also in revolutionised Sicily, the Jesuits were looked upon as enemies of freedom and the national cause, and the people therefore insisted upon their removal. The paters, it is true, had declared themselves, in a proclamation to the inhabitants, as warm patriots; but no reliance was placed in their verbal assurance, in the then critical position of the island. On the 31st of July, the Sicilian parliament enacted the banishment of the order. The foreign paters were sent away, and their property sequestered, while the native members were allowed to remain on a small pension.

As in Upper Italy, so also at Rome, and in the

whole of the papal states, the popular demonstrations against the Jesuits had assumed, under the very eyes of the pope, a very serious character. The people insisted in unequivocal terms upon the removal of these enemies of a better future. In the course of the month of March, the pope had frequent interviews with Pater Roothaan, telling him that it was absolutely necessary to withdraw the unpopular members from the state, in order to avoid popular excesses at the forthcoming promulgation of the constitution. A few left in real earnest the Eternal City, in the nights of the 10th and 11th March, while others only made preparations for departure. In the meanwhile, an imprudent Jesuit, having used in his sermons harsh expressions against the reforms and the national movement, the people, and even the pope himself, became so exasperated, that a papal decree appeared (29th March) ordering the banishment of the order and sequestration of its property. As usual, the native members were allowed to remain under condition of secularisation. The college Romanum was restored to the secular clergy, and the other Jesuit establishments came into possession of other hands. In the papal provinces, the Jesuits

experienced the same fate as at Rome. The pope had preferred banishing to abolishing the order, probably to satisfy the people more speedily, since the process of suppression would have required lengthy investigations and formalities before it could be accomplished. Later events, however, have left the impression, that Pius IX. was not so inimically disposed towards the order as he would have the people believe, since with the restoration of tranquillity by the French troops, the Jesuits have also returned to their old domiciles and establishments, mischief and intrigues. Be this, however, as it may, in a practical point of view there could have been no material difference between banishment and suppression of the order, since no pope is bound to keep intact the resolves of his predecessors, as was the case with the order in 1773 and again in 1814.

The Pater-General Roothaan sailed with a considerable number of his subordinates to England, where Lord Clifford and other Catholic magnates are said to have put at their disposal some of their castles or country seats, while a great many more crossed the ocean to seek new spheres of operation

in the western hemisphere. Also in Germany and Austria the events of 1848 were severely felt by the Jesuits under their various masks and names, though in Catholic Austria their expulsion was only partial and incomplete. In Bavaria, a Government decree (February 17, 1848) abolished the so-called Redemptorist mission at Altötting, but allowed a small pension to those fathers who were willing to embark and continue their missionary labours in America. At Vienna, after the fall of Metternich, the hated Ligorians were enjoined to quit the metropolis and the country generally; being slow in departing, the people stormed (6th April, 1848) their cloister, and menaced even their lives. Both the male and female Ligorians were thereupon packed into waggons and removed from town, under the escort of the national guard. An official investigation of their affairs procured a good insight into the relations of the pious fathers. Among the documents and other papers which they left behind, were found several promissory notes, payable to the order of Archduke Maximilian Este, and in the cellars were found large stores of wine, also registered in the name of that arch patron of the Jesuits. Their cashbook showed,

that they had received monthly subscriptions from pious individuals, to be distributed amongst the poor, but which the fathers had employed in the purchase of stocks on the Exchange for their own account. Minute search in the cloister also revealed visible traces of crimes and debauchery, unfit for publication. A few days afterwards (10th April) the Jesuits were ordered to quit Linz, while the people drove them forcibly from their settlements in Styria and the Archduchy of Austria. To prevent further disturbances, Emperor Ferdinand ordered (8th May, 1848), at the proposal of the Cabinet Council, the entire abolition of the Society of the Jesuits or Ligorians throughout the whole kingdom. Such an order was, however, more easily issued than executed, as the Jesuits possessed in the royal family itself, and more especially among the fair sex of the high aristocracy, many old faithful friends and influential patrons, who continued to protect them, and to be devoted to their cause heart and soul. Even in Vienna itself, they were not long in reintroducing themselves clandestinely, and so they did at Linz, where they worked and conspired against public order and tranquillity. In Galicia

their expulsion was easily effected in July, 1848, but in Tyrol it met with many difficulties, Government there having declared their determination not to accede to the imperial decree of banishment. A monster petition, signed by nearly the whole population, was at the same time also forwarded to the head administration at Vienna, in which the withdrawal of the cabinet order (8th May) was insisted upon, rather than prayed for. It furnishes the historian with a new proof of the dangerous influence of the Jesuits, even in those countries where the people at first evince great antipathy towards them.

With the political reaction, however, since 1849, the Jesuits have made their reappearance in all the states whence they had fled or been expelled at the outbreak of the revolutions ; they are now almost everywhere safely re-established, and are again working their way, secretly and successfully, to the hearts and pockets of the credulous and bigoted.

Let no nation, however great its political freedom, fancy itself safe against the intrigues of these monastic adventurers. No democratic constitution can prove a sufficient safeguard against their diabolical power and machinations. They know, as their history

in Belgium and other countries has proved, how to turn to their own advantage every constitutional law framed in the spirit of liberty and public welfare, and the only bulwark against the baneful power of the disciples of Loyola is to be found in those institutions which secure to the future generations *a sound religious and humane education.*

THE POPES.

AFTER the Allied Powers had entered France in January, 1814, Napoleon (I.) gave orders for the release of the pope and his return to Rome. But the order was so slowly executed, that he made his solemn entrance into the Eternal City, only on the 24th May, 1814.

General esteem and sympathy accompanied the pope (Pius VII.) from his captivity to his capital ; not only Catholics, but even Protestants, duly appreciated and applauded the firmness with which he had defied and resisted the great monarch, whose slightest wish was law to the whole of Europe. This favourable general disposition might to some extent have facilitated the difficult task that stood before him, had he somewhat understood and considered the spirit and requisites of the age. But Pius VII., however firm and resolute as a prisoner, showed him-

self weak and hesitating as an independent potentate and head of the Church.

The task of the pope, soon after his return, to re-organize the church and the state, was indeed not an easy one. In consequence of the many political changes during the reign of the Emperor, many episcopal dioceses had been secularized, many episcopal chairs had remained unoccupied, and many States had changed both masters and governments. New Concordats were therefore to be concluded with the different States, to re-organize the dioceses and to re-establish the relations between Church and State, while the government of the Church itself had become exceedingly difficult, in consequence of the manifold directions which Catholicism had pursued during the Revolution and the Empire. The indifference, and even persecutions which Catholicism had suffered at the hand of the Revolution, only served to strengthen the fanaticism of the votaries, who were most numerous in Spain, Portugal, and Western and Southern France, and who resolutely insisted on the practical execution of the Ultramontane system in all its rigour and strictness. Those in Northern France had, on the other hand, become corrupted by the Atheistical

or Deistical doctrines of the so-called French philosophers, who believed in neither pope, church, nor any religion whatever ; while those of Germany had since Joseph II. modified Catholicism by an admixture of logical reasoning, and, supported as it was by eminent theologians, it has since become the prevalent creed of the German Catholics, especially of those who are ruled by Protestant princes. These manifold directions rendered the task of the pope very onerous, if not impossible. The most contradictory demands were required of him, the most opposite claims were made upon him, and he thus could not satisfy the least wish of one party without offending the other parties.

Also in a financial point of view, and with due regard to the material interests of his State, the pope had to struggle with many difficulties. In consequence of the numerous wars and the cessation of catholic pilgrimages, the State had become impoverished, and having obtained a French constitution, nearly all the rights of the Church and privileges of the clergy were abolished, while it proved on the other hand more beneficial to the inhabitants at large. Public order and safety had been better secured, trade industry and agriculture were encouraged, while laymen were no

longer excluded from holding public offices. Prudence therefore, dictated to the pope the necessity of availing himself of the advantages accruing from that constitution, and, by retaining it, best to consult the interests of the country generally, while the *Zelanti* looked at it as the production of liberalism, and every concession in that direction as a relapse into heterodoxy.

Under the French Government, the finances of the Papal State, which had for some time been in a ruinous condition, were greatly improved, and regulated on a better footing; especially by the disposal of the cloister and chapter estates. The severity which accompanied these confiscations had been forgotten, and the people had become reconciled to the new order of things, and it was therefore but natural that, even after the Restoration, the best points of the French regulations should be retained. But the man, (*Consalvi*), who alone understood to take into consideration the demands of the age, was then at Vienna, and the pope, chiefly guided by Cardinal Pacca, re-established all the chapters and cloisters, and restored to them not only the estates which had not yet come under the hammer, but made over to them, in compensation for those already sold, *States-bonds* to a like amount,

bearing 5 per cent. interest. In this manner, the State became deprived of a considerable item in the revenue, and involved in new debts and financial difficulties from which it will hardly ever be able to extricate itself. By abolishing, in addition, the French Legislation and Administration, the clergy and nobility resumed their old rights and privileges. In one point alone, *Consalvi* succeeded in bringing about a change in the administration. By the *Motoproprio* of the 6th July, 1816, all the different constitutions and separate laws of the provinces and municipalities were abolished, and a uniform legislation was introduced throughout the Papal States, which were thenceforth divided into seventeen delegations, ruled by an ecclesiastical *Delegate*, or *Legate*, (if a cardinal). By the old Constitution, on the other hand, the papal power was to a certain extent limited, by laymen being allowed to participate in the local administration of the provinces, municipalities, and baronies, and by which means the Senate of Bologna and others had acquired a certain degree of independence; while by the new regulation, all these popular rights were lost and the management fell exclusively into the hands of the clergy. With this regulation, the whole of the

old system, with its attendant circumstances, again made their appearance. Brigandage, assassination and contempt of the laws were again the order of the day, after the police had lost its power, and justice had resumed its slow, tardy, and dragging course.

Leo XII. successor to Pius XII. had previously, as Cardinal *Annihole della Ganga*, acted as Nuncio at several courts, where he was well known for his diplomatic cunning, sensual depravity, and atheistical notions. After the restoration of the Holy Chair, he joined the *Zelanti* or *Orthodox party*, to which he remained true also as a pope. Soon after his accession, he permitted the publications of *Anfossi* on the restoration of the ecclesiastic estates, and of *Fea* on the indirect supremacy of the Apostolic Chair. Nothing could have been more unseasonable than those publications. They provoked the derision and hatred of the unbelievers, and drew the attention of the Foreign Cabinets to the fact, that Rome had not renounced her old principles, thereby rousing distrust, suspicion, and vigilance throughout Europe. Leo XII. in short acted fully and as much as lay in his power in the spirit of the *Zelanti*.

All the high offices of the state and the provinces were intrusted to the clergy, who, without political experience and worldly education, only thought of enriching themselves and their friends. Trade, commerce and industry received no countenance; taxes weighed heavily upon the people, the vast property of the Church and ecclesiastical institutions being exempted from any impost whatever, while the restoration of the chapters and cloisters involved the State into debts, which annually increased more and more. To alleviate the financial difficulties, the greatest portion of the revenues were farmed out, and the rent frequently paid in advance for several years to come. The support of prisoners and the military was likewise intrusted to private individuals, who enriched themselves at the cost of those poor wretches, whom they nearly starved to death. In 1817 a company was discovered which for a long time had forged cheques on the public treasury, pensions and grants, which clearly shows how much the supervision of the Exchequer had been neglected. Nor were police and justice in a better condition. The French laws and the provincial statutes had been abolished, and in their stead introduced the common law, modified by the ecclesi-

astical and apostolic constitutions. But as these constitutions were both numerous and contradictory, a frightful confusion and unsafety attended the administration of justice. New codes of law were promised, but never appeared. The courts of justice were both mercenary and powerless, and as the will of the pope was supreme law, recourse was always had to an appeal to his mercy, and the numerous *Grazie speciali* which were granted entirely defeated the ends of justice; it frequently happened that a party, though he had eight legal decisions in his favour, could nevertheless not come to his right. Even convicted thieves and robbers were pardoned by influential intercession, and no wonder that brigandage and robberies were daily on the increase. As it was impossible to get rid of the numerous malefactors who robbed and murdered in the open streets in broad daylight, a sort of negotiation and compromise was entered into with them, by which they allowed themselves to be imprisoned for one year, and then released after receiving from the State the necessary means of leading an honest life.

Leo XII. by no means improved the condition of the State. His contradictory measures only tended

to embarrass the finances and increase the hatred and discontent of the people.

The July Revolution in France (1830), which spread like wildfire throughout Europe, also affected the minds of the papal subjects. Immediately after the accession of Gregory XVI., disturbances broke out at Bologna, and a union was formed in the northern parts of the Papal States, having for its object the abolition of the secular power of the pope; and though the disturbance was at once quelled by the speedy entrance of the Austrians, the pope was anxious to take steps to prevent similar associations for the future.

But hardly had the Austrian troops withdrawn, than new disturbances broke out (January, 1832) in the provinces. The papal troops, composed of riff-raff vagabonds, were unable to restore order, and recourse was again had to the Austrian military, while the French occupied Ancona, to counterbalance the influence of Austria in Italy. This occupation of foreign troops lasted until 1838, when the agitations seemed to be at an end; but they were renewed within a few years, and showed themselves by the perpetration of plunder and murder, and the committal of all sorts

of rebellious excesses and disorders. A great number of Italian refugees abroad, wishing to introduce in Italy a new order of things under the name "Young Italy," did their best to keep up the agitation, and thereby greatly weakened the papal power. The finances of the State were so diminished that the enormous deficiencies could only be covered by the disposal of the church domains. But justice, police, and administration, can only there assume a more healthy aspect, when their management is transferred from the hands of the inexperienced clergy into those of experienced and competent laymen, and there can be no doubt that sooner or later the secular power of the pope will draw to an end, and Italy thenceforth enter on a new phase of union, power, and prosperity !

The views and intentions of Gregory XVI. may be elicited from his edict (12th September, 1831) on the studies of the arts, sciences, and literature generally. Therein he declared himself against all ideas, wishes, and efforts of modern times, both political and ecclesiastical, damning them as positive heresies. He reminds the bishops and the prelates that the pope alone has the supreme right to decide on doctrines, studies, and principle ; that the church must adhere

to her old discipline, and not allow the secular power to interfere with it ; that it were absurd to talk of a restoration or regeneration of the church, to attack the law of celibacy, or to doubt the indissolubility of matrimony. He, in conclusion, exhorts the bishops to resist all sorts of innovations, and demands of the princes to assist them in their efforts, since the tranquillity of the State solely depends on the power and stability of the church (*animadvertant sedulo, pro illorum imperio et quiete geri, quicquid pro ecclesiæ salute laboratur.*)

In this sense Gregory XVI. continued to reign ; he considered the condition of the middle ages as the proper standard for the church, and condemned unconditionally all innovations and improvements of the later ages as the works of Satan and heretics. No wonder that, acting up to these views and notions, in defiance of the pressing demands of the spirit of the age, that trade, industry, and commerce remained without the least encouragement, the arts and sciences were suppressed, thousands of his subjects were thrown into prisons, and the exchequer became so impoverished as to exhibit an annual deficit of several million scudi, though the revenues had been

mortgaged in advance for two or three years to come.

At the death of Gregory XVI. (1st June, 1846), the cardinals had no other means of quieting the popular agitation than to elect as pope a man in whose liberal opinions the people reposed some confidence. In this spirit the election fell on Cardinal Ferrette, a man who was still in the vigour of life (54 years old). He assumed at his accession (16th June, 1846) the name of Pius IX. He was enthusiastically received by the people, and did at first indeed all he could to justify their expectations.

But the history of his reign and the events composing it are as yet far from being developed, and they belong to a new era, fraught with changes and modifications in the church and state of Rome.

THE END.

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